

BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

EDITED
BY THE
LIBRARIAN

VOL. 8

JULY, 1924

No. 2

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE present year marks an epoch in the history of the John Rylands Library, since Monday the 6th of THE LIBRARY'S
October will stand out as the twenty-fifth SEMI-
anniversary of its formal dedication to public use. JUBILEE.

In commemoration of that event the Trustees and Governors have decided to hold an afternoon reception in the library, on the actual date of the anniversary, and it is hoped that many of the guests who were present at the inaugural ceremony in 1899 will again honour the library with their presence.

The Lord Mayor and Corporation of Manchester have also signified their intention of marking the occasion by giving an official luncheon in the Town Hall, in honour of the Trustees and Governors of the Library and their principal guests.

As we look back over those twenty-five years we are reminded of the many changes that have taken place, especially in the personnel of the governing body of the institution. Death has removed first one and then another until to-day there survive but one of the nine trustees, and two of the eighteen governors who were appointed, in 1899, by the founder. Whilst of those who took a prominently active part in the inaugural ceremony all but two have passed away. The most grievous loss of all was sustained in 1908, through the death of Mrs. Rylands, the lady to whose enlightened munificence the library owes its existence.

If we may judge from the many encouraging testimonies which reach us from time to time, from scholars both far and near, there has been throughout those twenty-five years a steady progression both in efficiency and influence. We may be excused for quoting one short passage from a long appreciation of the library and its work from the

pen of that eminent scholar, Dr. Carl Wessely of Vienna, which appeared as long ago as June, 1917, in "Urania," one of the principal weekly organs of Austria, in which he gave it as his opinion that : ". . . this library has in twenty years taken rank with such world-famed libraries as the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Vatican, and the Royal Libraries of Vienna and Munich, which have at least a century of development behind them."

As an indication of the growth of the library's collections it needs only to be stated, that in 1899, there were not more than 70,000 printed books, and a handful of manuscripts upon its shelves ; the former, it is true, included many early printed works of outstanding importance, through the possession of the Althorp Library. Whereas, to-day, there are not fewer than 300,000 printed books, and 10,000 manuscripts ; the latter comprising the Crawford collection, which gives to the library a position, with regard to Oriental and Western manuscripts, similar to that which it previously occupied in respect of its early printed books.

Not merely in numbers have the collections grown, but also in importance, for the accessions have included many world famous treasures, which have been a source of attraction to scholars from all parts of the world.

In these days, when so many of the private libraries of the country are being dispersed to the four winds, it may not be out of place to recall the immeasurable service which Mrs. Rylands' timely intervention rendered to scholarship, by saving from this disaster of dispersal, that "most famous of all private libraries" at Althorp, which was acquired from Earl Spencer for a great sum of money. As soon as it was known that so many of the nation's priceless literary treasures had been in this way secured for all time against the risk of transportation, the public spirit which Mrs. Rylands had manifested was greeted with a chorus of grateful approbation.

It is not true, as is sometimes asserted, that the Spencer collection formed the nucleus of the John Rylands Library, for considerable purchases had been made by and for Mrs. Rylands before it became known that Earl Spencer was willing to part with his famous library. It was, however, the crowning glory of Mrs. Rylands' scheme, and by its acquisition Manchester was invested with a distinction enjoyed by few other cities.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that this new library received the hearty welcome of the scholars of the country, and sprang as if by magic into a high place among the great libraries, not only of this country but of the world.

Throughout the twenty-five years of its activities the duty of the library to scholarship has been recognised, and the Governors, with a liberal interpretation of their responsibility to learning, have realised that whilst it is their primary duty carefully to preserve and to build up the collections entrusted to their charge, yet the real importance of such a library rests, not upon the number or the rarity of the works of which it is composed, but, upon the use which is made of them. Only in this way can any library be worthy of its history.

It was inevitable that the possession of so great an inheritance of literary treasures should cause the library to become a place of pilgrimage for the lover of rare books, as well as for those who have given themselves to the service of learning. But from the first it has been the steadfast aim of the governors to make it an efficient working library for students—both the student made and the student in the making. With that end in view they have developed the collections by providing the best authorities in the various departments of literature which come within its scope, so as to excite and diffuse a love of learning, and at the same time assist the original investigations and efforts of those who might wish to devote themselves to the pursuit of some special branch of study.

This design has been consistently followed without any material change since the day of its inauguration. It has remained only to build up the collections along lines which have already been fruitful of good results, and as a consequence the library has quickly, if almost imperceptibly, developed into an admirable laboratory for historical and literary investigation.

This policy of administration has been amply justified, for one of the outstanding features of the use made of the library during the short period of its history, is the large amount of original research which has been conducted by students, not only from the home universities, but also by scholars from all parts of the world.

In connection with the anniversary it is intended to arrange an exhibition of some of the most noteworthy of the manuscripts and other books which have been added to the shelves of the library since its inauguration. The public

EXHIBI-
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will be given an opportunity of inspecting this exhibition during the evening of Wednesday the 8th of October.

It is with profound regret that we have to record the death of Sir Adolphus William Ward, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, formerly Principal of Owens College, Manchester, and for some time Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University, which took place at Cambridge, on Thursday the 19th of June, in the 86th year of his age.

SIR ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD.

Sir Adolphus was associated with the library as a trustee from the time of its inauguration until his death, and took a great personal interest in its affairs, so that his death is regarded by his colleagues, and by the writer as a great personal loss.

Adolphus William Ward was born at Hampstead, on December 2nd, 1837. He was the second son of John Ward, C.B., who after filling the post of inspector of prisons was called upon to carry out several diplomatic missions in Germany, where he settled in 1845 as British Consul-General at Leipzig, which became young Ward's home. In 1860 his father was transferred to Hamburg, first as Consul-General, and afterwards as Minister Resident of the Hanse Towns.

During Ward's residence in Germany he laid the foundation of that wide knowledge of German history, language, and thought, with which he was as familiar as with those of his own land. His education was not wholly German, for he spent some time at King Edward's Grammar School, Bury St. Edmunds, passing thence, in 1854, to Peterhouse. In 1859 he took his degree and was placed in the first class of the Classical Tripos. In 1861 he was elected a fellow of his college, an office which he retained until his marriage in 1879, to his cousin Adelaide Laura, daughter of the Rev. T. B. Lancaster, rector of Grittleton, and thirty-nine years later he was elected to an honorary fellowship. For a time he was an assistant lecturer first at Peterhouse, and later (in 1863) at Glasgow, which University afterwards gave him its honorary LL.D.

In 1866 he was appointed to the Professorship of English Language and Literature, and of Ancient and Modern History in the Owens College, Manchester, at that time a struggling institution, where he found ample scope for his powers of leadership and organisation, and where for the next thirty years his life was bound up with the growth and the development of the college.

The idea of transforming the college into an independent degree conferring University took shape in 1875, when a pamphlet signed by the Principal (Dr. Greenwood) and Professors H. E. Roscoe, A. W. Ward, and J. E. Morgan was issued, advocating the step, and it is but bare justice to say that it is due to the unflagging zeal and devotion of the signatories of that manifesto, through five weary years of discouraging opposition and indifference that Manchester owes its University. Although the original ideals of Ward and his colleagues were not fully attained the compromise of a federal University in which Owens was to be the first college was achieved in 1880, with the granting of a charter to the Victoria University.

Ward became the first Chairman of the Board of Studies, which drew up the degree courses of the new University, and in 1885 he succeeded Dr. Greenwood as Vice-Chancellor, which office he held from 1886 to 1890, and again from 1894 to 1896. In 1895, Victoria University awarded him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. Cambridge had already conferred upon him the same degree.

In December, 1889, Dr. Ward was elected Principal of Owens College, in succession to Dr. Greenwood, and in the following year he relinquished much of his teaching work, Mr. T. F. Tout succeeding him as Professor of History, Mr. Oliver Elton undertaking the Lectureship in English Literature.

To quote the excellent memorial notice which appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" Dr. Ward held the Principalship from 1890 to 1897, and during those years his history is the history of the College. As Principal, Dr. Ward from the beginning took the lead both in the College and the University. In full sympathy with all forward movements he strove with admirable energy and judgment to make the institution over which he presided realise the great place which he claimed for it in the intellectual life of the city and district. Every year saw some new development, and in nearly all of these Dr. Ward's energy, tact, and judgment secured success. The admission of women to the college classes had hitherto been made in a slow and grudging spirit. Under Ward the equal rights of women with men were secured in the College as they had been from the beginning of the University.

Dr. Ward's active interest and sympathy was not restricted to the College and the University, but was extended to all educational and social movements which had for their object the uplifting of Manchester

and its people. His home at Fallowfield was a real social centre for colleagues and pupils, for town and gown alike, and in this work he was supported by the gracious kindness and social weight of Mrs. Ward, who survives her husband.

The Corporation of the City of Manchester in 1897, wisely recognised his services to the whole community by admitting him to the honorary freedom of the city.

Such were the ceaseless demands which the administration of the College made upon the Principal, who was a martyr to duty, that in the end Dr. Ward's energies gave out, health was undermined, and he felt compelled to resign his office in 1897. His retirement was attended by demonstrations of goodwill and affection such as few men have ever been able to inspire. His portrait was painted by Herkomer and presented by the subscribers to the College as a memorial of him.

Leaving Manchester Dr. and Mrs. Ward took up their residence in Kensington, but London gave Dr. Ward neither the rest nor the refreshment that he needed. Ill-health had followed him, yet the transition from busy official life to that of a private scholar proved irksome and he soon became absorbed in various literary schemes, undertaking large responsibilities in regard to the "Cambridge Modern History" which his friend, Lord Acton, had projected.

Dr. Ward was not allowed to remain long in retirement, for in 1900 he was elected Master of Peterhouse, the first lay-head for 400 years, and was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge in 1901-1902. For nearly a quarter of a century he reigned as Master of the most ancient of the Cambridge Colleges, and added new dignity to an office of great traditions, for with his return to Cambridge, Peterhouse Lodge became, and has since remained, one of the most delightful centres of hospitality in Cambridge, a meeting-place for historians and literary men of all countries. Dr. Ward took a keen interest in University affairs, and worked hard on many boards and syndicates, notably those of the University Library, and the University Press.

Soon after Dr. Ward's return to Cambridge Lord Acton resigned the editorship of his projected universal modern history, whereupon the syndics appointed Dr. Ward as editor-in-chief, with Sir George Prothero and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Stanley Leathes as collaborators. The first volume was published in November, 1902, and the great work was completed, on the lines laid down by Lord Acton, in

December, 1910. The editing of such a work, in which more than a hundred historians of this and many other countries contributed, involved a tremendous amount of labour, foresight, and organisation. Dr. Ward himself contributed many chapters, mostly on German history. He has been described as the most industrious and methodical historian of modern times, and with him passes away the last of that old school of historians who possessed encyclopædic knowledge. But he was linked to the latest school in the scrupulous accuracy of his research, and in his tireless pursuit of detail.

Another great editorial achievement stands to his credit, and one which, says the writer in the "Manchester Guardian," no other man in Cambridge could have undertaken. The "Cambridge History of English Literature," of which Dr. Ward and Mr. A. R. Waller were joint editors, owed much to the former's initiation and conception. To this work, which was completed in 1916, Dr. Ward contributed many important chapters. Those which deal with the later mediæval and the Elizabethan period, and with the period of which he was an acknowledged master, are models of careful editing.

His other publications include : the English translation of Curtius' "History of Greece," 5 vols. (1868-1873); a scholarly edition of "Pope's Poetical Works," in the Globe Series (1869); "The House of Austria and the Thirty-years War" (1869); "The History of Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne," 2 vols. (1875), of which a second edition appeared in 1899, which is still regarded as the standard work on the subject; an elaborate edition of Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus" and Greene's "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" (1878), several times reprinted; two volumes on the "English Men of Letters Series": "Chaucer" (1880), and "Dickens" (1882); "The Counter-Reformation" (1888); "The Poems of John Byrom" the Jacobite poet, for the Chetham Society, 2 vols. (1894-95); "Sir Henry Wotton," which was his last Owens lecture (1897); "Great Britain and Hanover," his Ford lectures (1899); "The Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession" (1903), and a second edition in 1909; a complete edition of "The Poems" of Crabbe, in the Cambridge English Classics (1905-6); an edition of Lillo's "London Merchant and Fatal Curiosity," in the Belles Letters Series (1906); the Knutsford edition of "The Works of Mrs. Gaskell" (1906); "Germany, 1850 to 1890," in the Cambridge Historical Series,

Vol. I. (1916), Vol. II. (1917), Vol. III. (1918). At the request of the syndics of the Cambridge University Press Sir Adolphus made a selection from his numerous contributions to periodical literature which was published under the title: "Collected Papers, Historical, Literary, and Miscellaneous," 5 vols. (1921-23). His contributions to the "Dictionary of National Biography" number three hundred, and range from the life of Queen Anne to that of William III. To the "Encyclopædia Britannica" he contributed many very solid studies of nearly every period of literary history. His latest editorial work was as co-editor of the "Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy from 1753" which was in reality his design, and to which he contributed a valuable introduction.

In addition to this splendid record Sir Adolphus was a frequent contributor to the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews. He served as President of the British Academy, the Royal Historical Society, the English Goethe Society, and the Chetham Society; and in 1913 received the honour of Knighthood.

"One of the most remarkable things about Ward," says a writer in "The Times" of June 20, "was his power of seeing the point of view of young men just starting in life, of understanding their ambitions, and of helping them most practically by his influence and advice to attain their ends. His thirty years of contact with youth at Manchester had kept him young in spirit, and made him catholic in outlook and appreciation. His was a personality that all loved and one that stood four square to the world. He did not seek, but he certainly commanded recognition, the recognition due to a man who was in every respect of life a scholar and a gentleman, and one who never spared himself in the pursuit of truth. His learning and personal charm were well-known on the Continent, and particularly in Germany, to the history of which so much of his work was devoted. Leipzig gave him the degree of Ph.D."

He was never too busy to do a kindness.

The following series (the twenty-third) of public lectures have been arranged for the ensuing session. The lectures will be given, as usual, in the hall of the library, and will commence each evening at 7.30 p.m.

Wednesday, 8th October, 1924. In connection with the com-

PUBLIC
LECTURES.

memoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the Library, there will be a special exhibition of noteworthy manuscripts and books acquired since 1899, which will be open to the public between the hours of 6.30 and 9 o'clock.

At 7.30 the Librarian will give an address on : "The John Rylands Library ; what it is, and what it contains."

Wednesday, 15th October, 1924. "Scylla and Charybdis." By J. Rendel Harris, Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Curator of Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library.

Wednesday, 12th November, 1924. "Bankers and Banking in the Fourteenth Century." By T. F. Tout, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th December, 1924. "The Suffering Servant of the Lord in Isaiah LIII, and the related poems." By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th January, 1925. "The Architecture of the Epic." By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., Dott. Univ., F.B.A., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th February, 1925. "A Russian Shakespearean." By C. H. Herford, Litt.D., Honorary Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th March, 1925. "The Fighting Ascetics of India." By John Nicol Farquhar, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester, and Joint Editor of "The Quest of India Series," etc.

Wednesday, 22nd April, 1925. "The Conspiracy of Ardwick Green, 1816." By H. W. C. Davis, C.B.E., M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester.

The present issue contains the fifth and concluding part of Mr. Herman C. Hoskier's investigations into the manuscripts of the "Apocalypse."

Never before has so comprehensive an examination of any book of the New Testament been undertaken, and Mr. Hoskier explains that his reason for selecting the "Apocalypse" was simply because it was possible for one individual to handle the matter

MANU-
SCRIPTS OF
THE APOC-
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within his lifetime, as the supply of known manuscripts was sufficiently small to make this possible.

Students of the original text of the New Testament, to whom Mr. Hoskier's name and exact scholarship are so well known, will join us in congratulating him upon the completion of this self-imposed task, in the cause of truth.

The first public meeting of the Ancient Monuments Society, which was formed in January last, for the study and conservation of ancient monuments in the North Western Counties of England and North Wales, was held in the John Rylands Library on Thursday, the 26th of June. The Chair was taken by Sir Henry A. Miers, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester, and an address was given by Professor T. F. Tout, Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester. Professor Tout expressed his reluctance to take part in the formation of new societies, although in the present instance he felt that any evil which might arise from the formation of this Society would be compensated for by the great good that it was possible for it to achieve. Ancient monuments, said Professor Tout, would soon be almost extinct, and undoubtedly this Society would have been more useful if it could have been formed eighty or a hundred years ago. During that interval of time many of the best ancient monuments had been demolished or rebuilt, often under the pretext of restoration. Though he was personally a mediævalist he did not plead merely for the conservation of mediæval remains, for he believed that many monuments of a later period should be preserved with all possible care.

PRESERVA-
TION OF
ANCIENT
MONU-
MENTS.

It was thought by some that the State should be responsible for the protection of ancient buildings, but it was astonishing to find how very limited the powers of the State were in dealing with matters of that kind. From half to two-thirds of the buildings worthy of preservation were altogether beyond the province of the State. Others believe that the Church is in a measure responsible, but even in that case co-operation from without would be helpful.

For these and other reasons Professor Tout was of the opinion that the formation of this Society was essential in order to secure the better preservation of ancient monuments. He pleaded that one style

of architecture should not be considered more sacred than another, and pointed out that each type of building played its part, and that each tended to add interest, and to diversify the monotony of modern life.

A form of constitution was adopted, and an influential advisory committee was appointed.

The Hon. Secretary of the new Society is Mr. John Swarbrick, of 30 St. Ann Street, Manchester.

The additions to the shelves of the library during the first half of the present year include a number of important sets of periodicals and other works no longer current, in addition to the current literature which readers may reasonably expect to find available.

ACCES-
SIONS TO
THE LIB-
RARY.

We mention a few titles as an indication of the character of the additions which are constantly being made with the object of strengthening the various departments of literature to which they belong, and in that way of increasing the efficiency of the library.

MANUSCRIPTS : "Ordonnances de l'Ordre de Saint Michel," early XVI cent. (France) with the arms of Charles de Bourbon, first Duc de Vendôme, to whom the copy was evidently presented. "Sermones super ave Maria et alia, Richardus de S. Victor de XII Virtutibus, etc.," XIVth cent. (English) from the library of Fountains Abbey. Cordatus : "Sermones," dated 1475 (Germany). Severus Sulpitius : "Vita S Martini," and other pieces, dated and signed : "Scriptum colonie p. Wilhelm Hamer, 1448," (Germany). "Elucidatio initi legis prime ff. ad legem Juliam de ambitu . . .," early XVIth cent. (France) in an important stamped binding. Nineteen Charters relating to the Manor of Whaddon and Whaddon Chase, XVIIth and XVIIIth cent. The Manor Book of Middleton Austens, Suffolk, 1697-1754, on vellum. Chartulary of the Manor of Hoo, Isle of Thanet, XIVth and XVth cent., long roll on vellum. Contemporary copy of Culme Charters, 1389-1590 ; long roll on vellum.

ART : Rosenberg (Adolf), "Geschichte des Kostums," 5 vols., 4to ; Ashton (L.), "An introduction to the study of Chinese Sculpture," 4to ; Poulson (F.), "Greek and Roman portraits in English country houses," Fol. ; Rackman (B.) and Read (H.),

"English pottery from early times to the end of the eighteenth century," 115 plates, 4to ; Lewis (C. T. C.), "George Baxter, the picture printer," 4to ; Schramm (A.), "Der Bilderschmuck der Fruehdrucke," 1918-24, 7 vols., Fol. ; Brown (L. N.), "Block-printing and book-illustration in Japan," Fol. ; Finberg (A.), "The history of Turner's 'Liber Studiorum,' with a new catalogue raisonné," Fol. ; Benedite (Léon), "Rodin : a series of 60 photogravure plates . . . with historical and critical introduction," Fol. ; Brown (Percy), "Indian painting under the Moguls, A.D. 1550-1750." Fol. ; Facchinetti (V.), "Iconografia Franciscana : Saggio," 4to ; Hind (A. M.), "The etchings of D. Y. Cameron," 4to ; Prou (M.), "Manuel de paléographie latine et française," 4me édition refondue, 2 vols., 8vo.

HISTORY, ARCHÆOLOGY, etc. : Michel (E.), "Abbayes et monastères de Belgique et leur rôle dans le développement du pays," 4to ; "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," cura Colegii D. Bonaventuræ : Annus 1-16 (1908-23) ; "Cartulaire de Mirepoix : XII^e-XVI^e siècle" avec introduction, cartes et notes par F. Pasquier, 2 vols., 4to ; D'Anvers (Caleb), "The Craftsman" (written by Bolingbroke, W. Pulteney, and others in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's measures), 1731-37, 14 vols., 8vo ; "The Mariner's Mirror," published by the Society of Nautical Research, 10 vols., 8vo ; A collection of 350 volumes of local Scottish and French history ; Espinas (G.), "La draperie dans la Flandre française au Moyen Age," 2 vols., 4to ; "British and Foreign State Papers, compiled by the Librarian and Keeper of the Papers, Foreign Office," 1841-1922, 114 vols., 8vo ; Leland (John), "De rebus Britannicis collectanea" : Editio altera, 1774, 6 vols. ; "La Revue de l' Anjou et de Maine et Loire," Angers, 1852-1921, 126 vols. ; Osgood (H. L.), "The American Colonies of the 18th century," 4 vols., 8vo.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE : Chambers (E. K.), "The Elizabethan Stage," 4 vols., 8vo ; Heredia (J. M. de) "Poésies complètes," 8vo ; Stendhal : (Henry Beyle), "Oeuvres complètes, publiés sous la direction d'Edouard Champion," 15 vols., 8vo ; Killen (A. M.) "Le roman terifiant ou roman noir de Walpole à Anne Radcliffe, et son influence sur la littérature française jusqu'en 1840," 8vo ; Liebricht (H.), "Histoire du théâtre français à Bruxelles au 17^e et 18^e Siècle," 8vo ; Lalou (R.), "Histoire de la littérature contemporaine, de

1870 à nos jours," 8vo ; Brome (Richard), "Five newe playes," 1653, and "Five newe playes," 1659, 2 vols., 8vo ; Addison (J.), "Cato," and four other pieces, 1713 ; Villiers (George), "Miscellaneous works," 1705, 2 vols., 8vo ; A Collection of 70 Irish broadside ballads printed in Dublin, *circa* 1850 ; "Les Oeuvres Libres : recueil littéraire mensuel ne publiant que de l'inédit," 1921-24, 26 vols., 8vo ; Corte (A. della), "L'Opera comica Italiana nel 1700," 2 vols., 8vo ; Diltheys (W.), "Gesammelte Schriften," vols. 1-6 ; Houben (H. H.), "Verbotene Literatur von der Klassischen Zeit bis zu Gegenwart," 8vo ; Cowley (Abraham), "The first collected edition of his Works," 1668, Fol. ; Nabbes (Thomas), "Hannibal and Scipio," 1637 ; "Totenham Court," 1658 ; and "The Unfortunate Mother," 1640 ; a collection of fifty first editions of plays of the early 17th century comprising plays of Brome, Chapman, Dekker, Ford, Goff, Glapthorne, Head, Heywood, Kirke, Mason, Massinger, May, Mead, Merman, Middleton, Nabbés, Rowley, Shirley, and Sharpman's "Fleire," 1607 (of which only three other copies are known) ; Byron's first collected edition of the works, 1815, 4 vols., 8vo, (a presentation copy from Byron to John Taylor).

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION : Guéranger (Dom.) "L'année liturgique," 15 vols., 8vo ; Fathy (M.), "La doctrine musulmane de l'abus des droits," 8vo ; Vuillaud (P.) "La Kabbale Juive : histoire et doctrine : essai critique," 2 vols., 8vo ; Comm (Dom.), "Pilgrim paths in Latin lands," 8vo ; "Augsburg Confession," 1681, 4to ; Baxter (R.), "Compassionate warning and advice to all," 1708 ; "The grand question resolved," 1709 ; "Answer to Dr. Stillingfleet's charge of separation," 1680 ; Bunyan (J.), "Come and welcome," 1702 ; "Solomon's Temple," 1727 ; "The Holy War," 1759 ; "The Visions of John Bunyan," 1725 ; "The Heavenly Footman," 1796 ; "Grace abounding," 1751 ; "The Greatness of the Soul," 1730 ; Bardenhewer (O.), "Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur," 4 vols. ; Grimme (H.), "Althebraische Inschriften vom Sinai," 4to ; Brodfuehrer (E.), "Untersuchungen zur Vorlutherischen Bibeluebersetzung : eine syntaktische Studie," 1922 ; Savonarola (G.), "Le prediche . . . sopra li salmi e molte altre notabilissime materie . . .," Venice, 1539 ; "Vitae patrum in usum ministrorum verbi quo ad ejus fieri potuit repurgatae per Georgium Majorem cum præfatione M. Lutheri," Wittenberg, 1544.

JOHN LYLY.¹

BY THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, K.T.,
LL.D., ETC.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

JOHN LYLY the Euphuist, once the most popular writer of his day, afterwards the most neglected, and finally the subject of bitter ridicule, is now emerging as one of the central pivots upon which study and criticism of Elizabethan literature must revolve. Dr. Smith's Latin Dictionary defines Euphuism as "putida quædam dictionis affectatio quem euphuismum appellat." As a model of invective I applaud this brief outburst, though as an example of Latin prose, Dr. Smith allowed himself a measure of latitude.

Lyly was born in 1553 or 1554, went to Magdalen College, Oxford, soon after he was sixteen, graduated B.A. there in 1573, became M.A. in 1575, and in 1579 was incorporated M.A. at Cambridge as well. He first published his *Euphues* at Christmas, 1578. Fifteen months later the second part was issued, *Euphues and his England*, followed shortly by the plays *Campaspe* and *Gallathea*. He was closely connected with the choir of St. Paul's—Paul's Boys, as they were called, being Vice-Master, and as such largely responsible for their dramatic performances. In 1588 he obtained a Court appointment as Controller of the Revels. In 1591 the Paul's Boys were suppressed, and before their return to favour about 1600, Lyly addressed petitions to the Queen, to whom he had given offence. He seems to have been returned to Parliament four times between 1588 and 1601. He died in 1606. Shakespeare was then thirty-two years old.

When reading dramatic literature dating from the middle of the

¹ A lecture delivered in the University of Manchester, 28 February, 1924, under the auspices of the Manchester Poetry Society.

sixteenth century, one is impressed by a sense of power and resource, but still more by the ease and confidence with which the author handles his theme. Whether in themselves good, indifferent or bad, these works spring from trained minds, from men who clearly recognised their objectives. Whether couched in the rough and ready style of *Ralph Roister Doister*, in the broad vernacular of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, or else in the more didactic form of *Moralities and Miracle plays*, we are conscious that the period was rich in achievement, and much more so than indicated by the surviving volume of literature. Collier has printed a list of fifty-two court plays performed between 1568 and 1580, not one of which survives : and if such plays of sufficient merit to present to Queen Elizabeth have disappeared, may we not assume that hundreds perhaps even thousands of other works have perished ? The survivors, generally mean and insignificant little quartos, are scarce, often unique. They are such poor specimens of typography, usually printed with carelessness or haste, the text for actors or the enterprise of pirates, that one asks if excess of popularity caused their disappearance, or if unconsciousness of the prevailing greatness made the public indifferent to their possession. Were these books printed and thumbed out of existence, or was it apathy which withheld no less than twenty of Shakespeare's plays from publication until 1623, seven years after his death ? Lyly himself goes far to supply an answer to this engaging problem. In one of the prefaces to *Euphues* he describes his quandarie—to publish or not to publish.

" . . . We commonly see the booke that at Christmas lyeth bound on the Stacioners stall, at Easter to be broken in the Haberdasshers shop, which sith it is the order of proceding, I am content this winter to haue my doinges read for a toye, that in sommer they may be ready for trash. It is not straunge when as the greatest wonder lasteth but nyne days : That a newe worke should not endure but three monethes. Gentlemen vse bookes, as gentlewomen handle theyr flowres, who in the morning sticke them in their heads, and at night strawe them at their heeles. Cheries be fulsome when they be through ripe, bicause they be plentie, and bookes be stale when they be printed in that they be common. In my mynde Printers and Taylors are bound chiefly to pray for Gentlemen, the one hath so many fantasies to print, the other such diuers fashions to make, that the pressing yron of the one is neuer out of the fyre, nor the printing presse of the other at any tyme lyeth still. But a fashion is but a dayes wearing and a booke but an howres reading. . . ."

My own view is that the quantity of lost literature of the sixteenth century is gigantic. Fire and water, folly and ignorance, all have caused incalculable loss. Masses of precious things were never printed at all. Some books died of popularity, many others be it remembered through unpopularity,—those immolations in the Courtyard of the Stationers' Company, with the collaboration of the common hangman—they wring our hearts. I would barter all the lost work of Menander, and gladly forgo the missing chapters of Livy, for a dozen vanished pages of Shakespeare and Greene.

Lyly has come down to us with relatively small lacunæ, chiefly no doubt because the *Euphues* was the most popular secular book of his time, edition following edition with unparalleled speed, and the extant lists are apparently still incomplete. Only a few weeks ago an unknown edition of 1601 was discovered. The influence of earlier writers on Lyly, and Lyly's influence on his own time and on later writers, are the subjects I wish to discuss. *Euphues* was issued late in 1578 when Lyly was under twenty-five. The book shows unmistakable evidence of close study. The scale of his learning was not so prodigious as that of Ronsard, whose fourth centenary we celebrate this year—but though Lyly did not undergo so severe an apprenticeship of learning as the French poet, nor could he quote the whole of Virgil by heart, yet it is clear that his reading made a profound and continuing impact on his memory. Lyly must have been an omnivorous reader, diligent from his childhood and absorbed in his curious researches, and perhaps like Ronsard he may have rejoiced in occasional release from his philosophic speculations.

J'ai l'esprit tout ennuyé
d'avoir trop étudié
les Phénomènes d'Arate.
Il est temps que je m'ébatte
et que j'aïlle aux champs jouer.
Bons Dieux ! qui voudroit louer
ceux qui collés sur un livre
n'ont jamais souci de vivre ?

But, apart from his own studies, formative influences were at work, and like his contemporaries, Lyly was susceptible to the ferment around him. From two sources he could derive inspiration—from his predecessors who were fundamentally English in outlook, and also

from foreign writers and those of his countrymen who relied upon these exotic models.

It is difficult to detect any real debt to the earlier English dramatists—including those who composed the countless number of moralities, mysteries, miracle plays, and interludes. Of dramatic production in our modern acceptance of the term one may refer to three or four examples, immediate predecessors of Lyly's plays—*Ralph Roister Doister*, first printed in 1566, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, first acted in the same year, *Gorbuduc*, by Thomas Sackville, first issued in 1565, finally, *Damon and Pithias*, of 1568, by Richard Edwards. These books twelve or fourteen years older than *Euphues* are consistent enough in their varied styles, but in one or another their method is dry, the matter vulgar or sententious, the versification defective, the dramatisation obscure. Here are the opening lines of *Roister Doister*, whose author became a famous schoolmaster :

Our Comedy or interlude which we intend to play,
Is named Roister Doister indeed ;
Which against the vain-glorious doth inveigh,
Whose humour the roisting sort continually doth feed.
Thus by your patience we intend to proceed
In this our interlude, by God's leave and grace—
And here I take my leave for a certain space.

Of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, written by a young spark of twenty-four who ended life as a bishop, little need be said except to contrast its elementary plot and monosyllabic text with Lyly's complexity and opulence. One may also compare the characters in *Gammer Gurton* with those of Lyly's plays. In the former we have Gossip Dame Chat, Doll, Scapethrift, Dr. Rat, Gib the Cat, Hodge, Cocke, Dickon, and Tyb the Chambermaid. On the other hand, the serving-maids in Lyly's *Endimion* are called Floscula, Scintilla, and Favilla : the page-boys have Greek names, and the cast is amplified by Eumenides, Panelion, Corsites, Pythagoras, and by Cynthia herself. *Gorbuduc* of 1565 is a very different type which attained celebrity owing to the praise in Sir Philip Sydney's *Apology for Poetry*. Being reluctant to praise his contemporaries, his sparing compliments received all the more attention. *Gorbuduc*, he says, "is full of stately speeches and well sounding phrases climbing to the

height of Seneca his style, and as full of notable morality which it doth most delightfully teach : and so obtain the very end of Poesy," and though he criticises the play as being "defectious in the circumstance," owing to lack of structural and corporal unity, he was evidently a warm admirer of Sackville. To us the play is tedious. In the first lines the Queen addresses her son Ferrex :

The silent night that brings the quiet pause
From painful travail of the weary day,
Prolongs my careful thoughts and makes me blame
The slow Aurora, that so for love or shame
Doth long delay to shew her blushing face,
And now the day renews my grief-ful plaint.

Ferrex replies :

My gracious Lady and my mother dear,
Pardon my grief for your so grieved mind
To ask what cause tormenteth so your heart.

And so on, interminably. I need only add that the personages, all with classical names except those who have royal English titles, habitually make speeches extending from fifty to one hundred lines, the dramatis personæ being appositely called "Speakers." Lyly owed nothing to these authors, and they in turn seem to have been oblivious to the fine English of Coverdale, Cranmer, Whitgift, or Sir Thomas More. It is to those who drew their inspiration from classical and continental writers that we must turn in studying the origins and impulses of Lyly.

Was Sir Philip Sydney right in saying that England, the mother of excellent minds, had grown a hard stepmother to poets ? Certainly we have always been apt to disparage native talent in comparison with the foreign article—the court painter, the singer, the Italian madrigal which arrived in time to deflect Elizabethan musicians from their true bent—even the arts of fencing, costume, and gastronomy,—in all these directions homage was paid to Europe, and perhaps most of all by our writers. Lyly himself had no scruples. Though intensely patriotic—his panegyric of England is the most logical and sustained vindication of our country I ever read—his debt to the literature of Italy and Spain is unconcealed. Yet he protested against our habit of shewing preference for imported genius.

"For this is straunge," he says, "(and yet how true it is, there is none that euer trauailed thether but can reporte) that it is alwayes incident to an English-man, to thinke worst of his owne nation, eyther in learning, experience, common reason, or wit, preferring alwaies a straunger rather for the name, then the wisdome. I for mine owne parte thinke, that in all Europe there are not Lawyers more learned, Diuines more profound, Phisitions more expert, then are in England."

Yet when he comes to confront the women of Europe with the women of England, the brave and devout ladies of this blessed isle, when he can scarce restrain his voice from crying, "There is no beautie but in England," and actually prints the phrase in italics, it is from classical mythology that he draws his comparisons, forgetting, I suppose, that St. Helena, the daughter of old King Cole, was an English princess. We must, in fact, recognise that Lyly's mind revolved in classical spheres. He places the scenes of six of his eight plays in Phrygia, Utopia, Arcadia, Syracuse, Athens, and at the Court of Cynthia. Though sited in Lincolnshire, his *Gallathea* introduces Neptune, Venus, and Diana, while three of the "Natives," as he styles the husbandmen, are called Tyterus, Melebeus, and Erichinis. Again, in the "Pleasant Conceited Comedy" called *Mother Bombie*, the scene of which is Rochester, nearly everybody has a classical name, and quotes bad Latin as often as possible.

Yet we need not lament these external agencies, still less should they be condemned. The eagerness of Elizabethan writers, their passion for novelty, the catholicity of their tastes, all combined to attract the rays which ultimately fused into the incandescence of Shakespeare. Foreign literature contributed towards the language, formulæ, outlook, and style of these writers, quite apart from the plots and personalities which were unblushingly adopted, sometimes without modification, always without acknowledgment. Not indeed that I blame a man for plagiarising anything so commonplace as a plot. Except in regard to detective stories there should be no copyright in plots, for plots are universal, and if only we could command the literature of the Hittites or Phœnicians, and of those vague inhabitants of the Asiatic plains, whence our up-to-date modernists derive every movement in the arts, we should doubtless prove that Homer and Vergil and Æschylus, not to mention Jeremiah and Confucius, frankly cribbed their best situations and choicest *bons mots* from bygone genius. *Nihil sub sole novum.*

Shortly after the issue of *Euphues*, Stephen Gosson published his *School of Abuse*, and a few months later his apology for this tractate—curious and often irrelevant criticisms of poetry, which provoked Sir Philip Sydney, to whom the book had been dedicated without permission, to write his celebrated *Apologie for Poetry*. Gosson had attacked the prevailing dependence on foreign literature. “*The Palace of Pleasure*,” he says, “*The Golden Ass*, *Ethiopian History*, *Amadis of France*, and *The Round Table* . . . have been thoro’ly ransacked to furnish the playhouses of London.” Nor could the charge be confuted. Classical literature was readily to be had. By 1580 cheap and handy editions had been issued in great quantities, while Tudor translators had done full justice to the exact tone and quality of Greek and Latin authors.

Plutarch, Ovid, Pliny, and to a lesser degree Plautus, and Terence, provided sources for much of Lyly’s composition. To Plutarch he was specially indebted, for not only had he mastered the historical deposits of that incomparable gossip, but he fell into the habit of insinuating a few pages here and there into the *Euphues*, whenever a lay sermon was desirable. From Ovid Lyly absorbed an extensive knowledge of mythology, and Mr. Warwick Bond’s meticulous researches indicate that Lyly was familiar with those obscure compilers Hyginus, Palæphatus, Fulgentius, Phornutus, and Albricius, probably also with Aratus whose *Phænomena* proved so wearisome to Ronsard. Mythology forms the background to Lyly’s plays, providing ample authority for similes, analogies, parallels, and antithesis, for all the stratagems of composition, which give so special a style to the *Euphues*. From Pliny he drew his natural history, as fantastic in its essence as much of the mythology, and I fancy that Lyly must also have studied books of his own day dealing with the material aspects of philosophy—stones and their qualities, the medicinal and psychological properties of common things, and all the extravaganza pertaining to the early science of metallurgy and chemistry. The *Euphues* abounds in references to these speculations of which the full extent is not sufficiently recognised, and all must acknowledge his insistence upon these ancillaries to argument and illustration are fatiguing. One of Michael Drayton’s elegies contains a savage attack upon these tricks :

The noble Sidney, with this last arose,
 That heroe [both] for numbers, and for prose.
 That throughly pac'd our language as to show,
 The plenteous English hand in hand might goe
 With Greeke and Latine, and did first reduce
 Our tongue from Lilly's writing then in vse ;
 Talking of stones, stars, plants, of fishes, flies,
 Playing with words, and idle similies,
 As th' English, apes and very zanies be
 Of every thing, that they doe heare and see,
 So imitating his ridiculous tricks,
 They spake and writ, all like meere lunatiques.

But it must be remembered that Drayton wrote in 1627, and was criticising work nearly half a century old. Lyly was likewise indebted to Plautus and Terence, particularly in the plays with their intricate plots where the servants combine low comedy with intrigue, where shepherds, courtiers, deities, brothers, daughters, nymphs, and so on always seem to appear in groups—foils to each other, as though he wished his cast and the balance of his tale, to be marked by the counterpoint so inherent in his prose. But it is Lyly's prose which counts, and his debt to classical literature though visible in all directions, is in fact superficial, or at any rate was not essential to the success of his theorem. Nor have I found any convincing reasons that Lyly owed more to Petrarch, Boccaccio, or to Baldassare Castiglione the famous author of *Il Cortegiano*, than the oblique tribute which scholars of a country just emerging into literary maturity would pay to the all-pervading renown of Italy, with its secular tradition, the unequalled wealth of its art, its prestige in government,—all those characteristics of the High Renaissance which had just attained its apogee.

As for France, *Amadis de Gaule*, and the *Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* to which Gosson alluded in his tirade, though doubtless the basis of much stagecraft, exercised small influence upon Lyly, or indeed upon other writers of 1580. For one reason France did not afford the perspectives of Italy, and though Lyly may have derived sustenance from the bestiaries and herbals, the best of which issued from the mystic ingenuity which produced Rheims, Auxerre, and Bourges, yet the romance of chivalry had long ceased to make an effective appeal except to the adventurous tastes of childhood, and to those theatre-goers who were thrilled by the exploits of *Ogier le*

Danois, and the misfortunes of Guinevere. The day of Cervantes was about to dawn. But art is invincible—art cannot be slain—and though reeling under the smashing blows of Don Quixote the romance of chivalry revived, and prospers even to this day, though the hero is generally a cowboy in mocassins chasing his ladylove across the photographic lens of Texas.

John Lyly was too fastidious to rely upon these vivid episodes. *Euphues* is notable for its lack of incident. He seems to have tried to avoid the description of events, and though he calls *Euphues* "a simple pamphlet" it is in reality a genuine example of psycho-analysis—a studied picture of the cultivated Elizabethan mind, throwing the problems of learning and life and love into their philosophic environment, but with just enough narrative and development to justify its proud title of being the first English novel. It is in this fundamental fact that *Euphues* differs from three English books to which reference must be made in searching for formative influences.

North's *Diall of Princes*, 1557, is a free version of the *Libro del Emperador Marco Aurelio*, by Guevara, Bishop of Cadix. Its title-page proclaims it as "ryght necessary and pleasaunt to all gentrymen and others whiche are lovers of vertue." As for its contents, there is the same sequence of dialogues—dissertations about education (in each case appropriated from Plutarch), censure and panegyric, together with a good deal of religion. Lyly owed much to this book for the method of handling his theme.

Secondly, Pettie's *Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, 1576, "contayning many pretie histories, by him set foorth in comely colours, and most delyghtfully discoursed"—is unquestionably the literary predecessor of *Euphues*. All the typical features of Lyly's prose—its alliterations and turgidities, its balances and contrasts, will be found in Pettie, which, however, is a series of short stories, and not a consistent work carried to its conclusion. Lastly, one should mention the earlier *Palace of Pleasure*, Painter's book of 1566, also couched in highly polished prose, and probably not without influence upon Lyly, though it may be remembered that ninety-five per cent. of its short stories are drawn from foreign literature.

What was the net product of these conflicting and converging influences? *Euphues*, the hero of Lyly's novel, at least its protagonist, provides the title for the book. The word itself is of

Platonic extraction, meaning favourably endowed by nature. Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster* of 1570 defines it as "he that is apt by goodness of wit and appliable by readines of will to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body, that must another day serve learning,—not troubled, mangled, and halved, but sound whole full and able to do their office." The actual word is really untranslatable—for it means a gentleman of course, but a good deal more,—a scholar, an athlete, a man of the world. The opening lines of Lyly's book describe him :

There dwelt in Athens a young gentleman of great patrimonie, and of so comelye a personage, that it was doubted whether he were more bound to Nature for the liniaments of his person, or to fortune for the encrease of his possessions. But Nature impatient of comparisons, and as it were disdainning a companion or copartner in hir working, added to this comelinesse of his body such a sharpe capacite of minde, that not onely shee proued Fortune counterfaite, but was halfe of that opinion that she hir selfe was onely currant. This younge gallant, of more wit then wealth, and yet of more wealth then wisdom, seeing himselfe inferiour to none in pleasant conceits, thought himselfe superiour to al in honest conditions, insomuch y^t he deemed himselfe so apt to all thinges that he gaue himselfe almost to nothing but practising of those things cōmonly which are incident to these sharpe wittes, fine phrases, smoth quipping, merry taunting, vsing iesting without meane, and abusing mirth without measure.

It will be observed that Euphues in addition to high qualities, enjoyed the very semblance of a prig. But his experiences taught him much. "It hath been an olde sayed saw and not of lesse truth then antiquitie, that witte is the better if it bee the deerer bought : as in the sequele of thys historie shall moste manifestlye appeare." The young imp as Lyly describes him, reaches Naples, gets into various controversies and scrapes, conducts an exhortatory correspondence with his friends of both sexes, converts Atheos to a proper view of Christianity, and the first part of *Euphues* closes : he is "readye to crosse the Seas to Englande, if the winde sende him a shorte cutte you shall in the seconde part heare what newes he bringeth, and I hope to haue him retourned within one Summer. In the meane season I will stay for him in the country and as soone as he arriueth you shall know of his comming."

A few months later Lyly published the second part of his famous Book. The first had "The anatomy of wyt" as its sub-title, which

runs, "very pleasant for all gentlemen to reade and most necessary to remember : wherein are contained the delights that Wyt followeth in his youth by the pleasauntnesse of Loue, and the happynesse he reapeth in age by the perfectnesse of Wisdome. . . ." The sequel is called *Euphues and his England*, "CONTAINING," as the title page records, "his voyage and aduentures, myxed with sundry pretie discourses of honest Loue, the description of the countrey the Court, and the manners of that Isle. DELIGHTFUL TO be read, and nothing hurtfull to be regarded : wherin there is small offence by lightnesse giuen to the wise and lesse occasion of loosenes proffered to the wanton. . . ."

Euphues sets sail from Naples with his friend Philautus at Christmas, 1579. It transpires that during the journey which occupied eight weeks, Philautus had a queasy stomach which was sorely provoked by the sea : Euphues was immune, and mercilessly lectured his friend all the way to Dover. After a visit to the aged and love-sick Callimachus living in retirement at Canterbury, follow the curious precepts to foreigners visiting England :

At thy comming into *England* be not too inquisitiue of newes, neither curious in matters of State, in assemblies aske no questions, either concerning manners or men. Be not lauish of thy tongue, either in causes of weight, least thou shew thy selfe an espyall, or in wanton talke, least thou proue thy selfe a foole.

It is the Nature of that country to sift straungers : euery one that shaketh thee by the hand, is not ioyned to thee in heart. They think *Italians* wanton, and *Grecians* subtill, they will trust neither they are so incredulous : but vndermine both, they are so wise. Be not quarrellous for euery lyght occasion : they are impatient in their anger of any equal, readie to reuenge an iniury, but neuer wont to profer any : they neuer fight without prouoking, and once prouoked they neuer cease. Beware thou fal not into ye snares of loue, ye women there are wise, the men craftie : they will gather loue by thy looks, and picke thy minde out of thy hands. It shal be there better to heare what they say, thẽ to speak what thou thinkest : They haue long ears and short tongues, quicke to heare, and slow to vtter, broad eyes, and light fingers, ready to espy and apt to stricke. Euery straunger is a marke for them to shoote at : yet this must I say which in no country I can tell the like, that it is as seldome to see a straunger abused there, as it is rare to see anye well vsed els where : yet presume not too much of the curtesies of those, for they differ in natures, some are hot, some cold, one simple, and other wilie, yet if thou vse few words and fayre speeches, thou shalt commaund any thing thou standest in neede of.

Then come courtships, quarrels, reconciliations. Philautus falls in love with Camilla—Euphues retires from the scene—the correspondence with Camilla proceeds, the only particle of intrigue being that the letters are slipped into a copy of Petrarch. Flavia makes her appearance, then Livia, then Mistress Francis. Philautus is in despair. He appeals for sympathy to his old friend. Euphues is cold at first, but re-enters society, and is soon summoned back to Athens, whence he directs to Livia the chapter called the *Glasse for Europe*—a description of England as: “a place in my opinion (if any such may be in the earth) not inferior to a Paradise.”

This *Glasse for Europe* is a tractate of twenty-five pages or so, describing England to foreigners, with a good deal about its natural features, political status and constitution which Lyly took from Hollinshead's *Chronicles*. For public institutions Euphues pays great regard, but it is in respect of the qualities of English womanhood, that the writer speaks with every sign of genuine conviction. Let me quote a passage—rather long perhaps, but a good example of Lyly's style, showing his practice of counterpoint, balance and antithesis:

As the Ladies in this blessed Islande are deuout and braue, so are they chaste and beautifull, insomuch that when I first behelde them, I could not tell whether some mist had bleared myne eyes, or some strang enchauntment altered my minde, for it may bee, thought I, that in this Islād, either some *Artemidorus* or *Lisimandro*, or some odd *Nigromancer* did inhabit, who would shewe me Fayries, or the bodie of *Helen*, or the new shape of *Venus*, but comming to my selfe, and seeing that my senses were not chaunged, but hindered, that the place where I stoode was no enchaunted castell, but a gallant court, I could scarce restraine my voice frō crying, *There is no beautie but in Englād*. There did I behold thē of pure complexion, exceeding the lillie, & the rose, of fauour (wherein ye chiefest beautie consisteth) surpassing the pictures that were feyned, or the Magition that would faine, their eyes percing like the Sun beames, yet chaste, their speach pleasant & sweete, yet modest & curteous, their gate comly, their bodies straight, their hands white, al things that man could wish, or women woulde haue, which howe much it is, none can set downe, when as ye one desirith as much as may be, the other more. And to these beautifull mouldes, chaste minds: to these comely bodies tēperance, modestie, mildenesse, sobrietie, whom I often beheld, merrie yet wise, conferring with courtiers yet warily: drinking of wine yet moderately, eating of delicats yet but their eare ful, listing to discourses of loue but not without reasoning of learning: for there it more delighteth them to talke of Robin hood, then to shoot in his bowe, & greater pleasure they take, to heare of loue, then to be in loue. Heere Ladies is a Glasse

that will make you blush for shame, & looke wan for anger, their beautie commeth by nature, yours by art, they encrease their fauours with faire water, you maintaine yours with painters colours, the haire they lay out groweth vpon their owne heads, your seemelines hangeth vpon others, theirs is alwayes in their owne keeping, yours often in the Dyars, their bewtie is not lost with a sharpe blast, yours fadeth with a soft breath:—Not vnlike vnto Paper Floures, which breake as soone as they are touched, resembling the birds in *Aegypt* called *Ibes*, who being handled, loose their feathers, or the serpent *Serapie*, which being but toucht with a brake, bursteth. They vse their beautie, bicause it is commendable, you bicause you woulde be common, they if they haue little, doe not seeke to make it more, you that haue none endeauour to bespeake most, if theirs wither by age they nothing esteeme it, if yours wast by yeares, you goe about to keepe it, they knowe that beautie must faile if life continue, you sweare that it shall not fade if coulours last.

But to what ende (Ladies) doe you alter the giftes of nature, by the shiftes of arte? Is their no colour good but white, no Planet bright but *Venus*, no Linnē faire but Lawne? Why goe yee about to make the face fayre by those meanes, that are most foule, a thing loathsome to man, and therefore not louely, horrible before God, and therefore not lawefull.

After a panegyric of Queen Elizabeth, a few final letters are exchanged between Euphues and Philautus who gets married at last to one of the English nymphs, who by the way has a dowry of £1000 and a good house too. Euphues remained abroad solitary, aloof, determined to sojourn in some uncouth place at the bottom of the mountain Silixsedra.

A dozen years after the publication of *Euphues*, the word "Euphuism" had been coined. It is now a generic term, singular in that it only applies to the style in which the book is written rather than to the character of its eponym. One would have expected the term to be Lyllian, authors having often associated their names with one prevailing aspect of their literary art—Gibbon or Dr. Johnson to the rotundity of language, Rabelais to its vivacity, Dante to solemnities. Even Dr. Bowdler bequeathed rather an ugly name to a very ugly excursion into literature. Euphuism in ordinary parlance is scarcely associated with anything except phraseology and its treatment.

Lily was a prose writer, and Euphues is essentially a prose book, though poetic in its outlook. Philip Sydney afterwards observed that "the greatest part of Poets have apparelled their poetickall inventions in that numbrous kind of writing which is called *vers*. Indeed, but

apparelled verse, being like an ornament, and no cause to poetry, since there have been many most excellent poets that never versified, and now swarm many versifiers that need never answer to the name of poets." How Sydney would have liked the dry couplet of Arthur Clough :

Swans sing before they die : t'were no bad thing
Some men should die before they sing.

What was Lyly's objective ? In his preface to the *Gentlewomen of England* he adopts rather a flippant attitude :

It resteth Ladies, that you take the paines to read it, but at such times, as you spend in playing with your little Dogges, and yet will I not pinch you of that pastime, for I am content that your Dogges lye in your laps, so *Euphues* may be in your hæds, that when you shall be wearie in reading of the one, you may be ready to sport with the other : or handle him as you doe your lunctets, that when you can eate no more, you tye some in your napkin for children, for if you be filled with the first part, put the second in your pocket for your wayting Maydes : *Euphues* had rather lye shut in a Ladyes casket, than open in a Schollers studie.

Lyly was certainly writing for a chosen audience, for the Court with which he may have already become connected, and he certainly directed his book not indeed to scholars in the more exclusive sense, but to persons who were assumed to be well read enough to appreciate his endless allusions to classical history and mythology. *Euphues* is a novel, a narrative, without a scoundrel in the caste,—indeed no real scoundrel appears in the *dramatis personæ* of his plays : a rogue perhaps here and there among the 170, but they usually end by repentance or a happy marriage. Even Discord in *The Woman in the Moon* is the embodiment of gentle and smooth-spoken disappointment. Lyly set himself the task of writing a philosophical survey of contemporary life and manners—ignoring it is true the workaday world of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* and confining his attention to the affluent circles of the Court. Others, however, had likewise written for selected audiences, though often with a coarseness which Lyly rigidly avoided. Again there must have been some political implications in the fine vivid pages about England ; for the rest, the book consists of theological disputations, interludes of travel and philosophy, and the more human episodes consisting largely of scenes.

of courtship and the transcript of love letters. And how thoroughgoing was this art in Elizabethan times ! What a decay must ensue when love letters are replaced by the telephone or clicked on to the typewriter ! But Lyly thought his own generation a little pedantic in this interesting pursuit :

And so it fareth with loue, in tymes past they vsed to wooe in playne tearmes, now in piked [picked] sentences, and hee speedeth best, that speaketh wisest : euery one following the newest waye, which is not euer the neerest way : some going ouer the stile when the gate is open, and other keeping the right beaten path, when hee may crosse ouer better by the fieldes. Euery one followeth his owne fancie, which maketh diuers leape shorte for want of good rysinge, and many shoote ouer for lacke of true ayme.

And to that passe it is come, that they make an arte of that, which was wont to be thought naturall : And thus it standeth, that it is not yet determyned, whether in loue *Vlysses* more preuailed with his wit, or *Paris* with his personage, or *Achilles* with his prowess.

For euerye of them haue *Venus* by the hand, and they are all assured and certaine to winne hir heart.

Euphues lacks adventure and perspective. Shadows are deficient, all being painted in high light. The style is so equable, its opulence so consistent that one's eyes are apt to travel across these lengthy phrases and carry no message to the brain. Gosson summarises it in his *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* (1582)—“When any matter of love is interlarded, though the thing itself is able to allure us, yet it is so set out with sweetness of words, fitness of epithets, with metaphors allegories hyperbolies, amphibologies similitudes, with phrases so picked so pure so proper, with action so smooth so lively so wanton, that the poison creeping in secretly without grief, chokes us at last, and hurleth us down in a dead sleep.” Let me refer to Lyly's words, phrases, amphibologies and so forth. It is upon style that his reputation is based for good or ill.

In the earliest of the six dedications prefixed to *Euphues* and its sequel, there is a phrase which might have been written by one of Lyly's critics :—“It is a world to see how English men desire to heare finer speach than the language will allow, to eate finer bread than is made of Wheat, and to weare finer cloth then is wrought of Woll.” One gets the impression that Lyly was a self-conscious person, some of course have said a poseur ; but it may be argued that his style, though punctilious, euphonious and hyperbolic, was not so

artificial as would appear at first sight, but was the logical outcome of a highly classicised education acting upon a very receptive and stilted mind. His vocabulary is rich, drawing widely, upon foreign instruments—his sentences are full of long words—none of those strings of monosyllables so common a few years before—such for instance as the Drinking Song in *Gammer Gurton*:—

Back and syde go bare, go bare,
 booth foote and hande go colde :
 But Bellye God send thee good ale ynoughe,
 whether it be newe or olde.
 I cannot eate, but lytle meate
 my stomacke is not goode :
 But sure I thinke, that I can drynke
 with him that weares a hood.
 Thoughe I go bare, take ye no care,
 I am nothinge a colde :
 I stufte my skyn, so full within,
 of ioly good Ale and olde.
 Backe and syde go bare, go bare,
 booth foote and hand go colde :
 But belly God send the[e] good ale inoughe
 whether it be new or olde.

eighty words, of which seventy-four are monosyllabic. Contrast this with the song in *Campaspe*, beginning :

Oh for a Bowle of fatt Canary,
 Rich Palermo, sparkling Sherry,
 Some Nectar else from *Juno's* Daiery,
 Oh these draughts would make vs merry.

All the ale has been supped and so Lyly searches the world markets for the choicest wines and draws his alternative from the vintage of classical mythology. But though less archaic than others, it must not be thought that his language lacked vigour or even raciness. He popularised many common phrases of his day, others which we still use in our own cant conversation originate with him. Some of these are in the nature of proverbs : “New Brooms sweep clean.—He needs must go that the Devil drives.—The weakest must step to the wall.—The burnt child dreadeth the fire.—Comparisons seem odious.—Run with the hare and hold with the hound.—Marriages are made in Heaven.” Others again are free adaptations of classical phrases, such as : “Harp upon one string.—One foot in the grave.—A flea in his ear.—As like as peas.—Shutting the stable door when the

steed is stolen." One may also mention certain other phrases which are commonplaces of to-day: "Fool's paradise.—Busy as a bee.—Playing fast and loose.—An eye to the main chance.—Time out of mind.—A penny for your thoughts."

"*Primus verborum artifex*," such was the proud title conferred by Nash on Lyly—leading craftsman in the art of words. Lyly loved words though he had no favourite among them. Neither he nor his contemporaries fell into our modern habit of insisting on particular words, abusing them by undue repetition and habitual irrelevance. How tedious is our everyday use of the word *literal*, how we depreciate fine words like *romantic*, or *absolute*, or *dramatic*, by their application to insignificant affairs. Awful, terrible, amazing, impressive, miraculous, tragic—these grand words of deep and far-reaching import have grown so trite, so denatured by misapplication as to become an oblique and negligible form of superlative. So vapid is our argument, so lacking in power to arrest, that nowadays one resorts to the trick of printing snippets of bad prose and faulty logic in *Italic* letters. *Populus vult decipi*. It is the triumph of self-inflicted penury. The reader is only enticed by these salient paragraphs: but the sentence in leaded type, like the speech which is most loudly shouted, is generally the first to be forgotten. It is the echo of the whispered word which travels farthest and resounds the longest in our ears. This degeneracy of words or rather their defacement is a real weakness in literature of to-day. Too often the adjective is casually chosen or conveys too emphatic an accent. Epithets are verdicts, and verdicts are solemn things. To apply the wrong epithet is to misrepresent, it is a miscarriage of justice. Do you know Ernest Hello's words? "*Les mots sublimes veulent des applications sublimes!*"

Lyly deserved the title of "*verborum artifex*." With him prose was an art, an objective in itself, only attainable by the scrupulous employment of words as the agency through which his ideas were conveyed. In Disraeli's first novel, *Contareni Fleming* ran away from school because they taught him words and he wanted to learn ideas. "Some silly book," said his father, "has filled your head with ridiculous notions about the respective importance of words and ideas. Few ideas are correct ones and what are correct no-one can ascertain. But with words we govern men." Disraeli was referring to the art of words, to the rare faculty of unerring selection. The right word is

always to be found if we care to search it out. Synonyms as such do not exist. Of course paraphrases or alternative words abound, but one word and one only can convey the richest meaning or the truest cadence. Herein lies the quality of tact—the tact of words, which enables one to soothe while arguing, to strike without inflicting a blow, or to inflict a blow without appearing to strike. Lyly chose his words with art, indeed with consummate art. With them he ruled society of his time, and influenced the writers of his day. He thought as much about the processes of construction as about the completed fabric. Throughout his works evidence of this punctilious worship of form is manifest—of the value he attributed to the tricks and stratagems of composition—whether justified or not I offer no opinion at this stage, and Mr. Warwick Bond who has devoted the most careful study to Lyly claims that *Euphues* is “if not the earliest yet the first thorough and consistent attempt in English literature to practise prose as an art . . . he took . . . the first momentous step in the development of English prose by obeying a rule of design and aiming at elegance and precision of form.” Moreover Mr. Bond urges that Lyly though “not quite the first dramatist to use prose, was the first to demonstrate . . . its claim to be the received vehicle for English comedy.”

Let me say a word or two about the Euphuism of the *Euphues*, and the corresponding exuberances of the plays. As already indicated by various quotations I have read, the language is expanded by a variety of enrichments. Learning and scholarship are thrust upon the reader. There is no escape from Lyly's mythology. When somebody does something we are reminded that long ago somebody else did it too, or that some analogy can be drawn from the fabulous history of plant or bird or beast. Alliteration which becomes a sort of bastard rhythm haunts us at every page. He loves a jingle. He likes a suite of words to begin or end with the same letter, sometimes with the same syllable. He fondles his words. Their shape and stature caress his eyes, especially if he can work in some proper name with contrapuntal insistence. Here is Apollo's song in honour of Daphne :

My *Daphne's* Haire is twisted Gold,
 Bright starres a-piece her Eyes doe hold,
 My *Daphne's* Brow inthrones the Graces,
 My *Daphne's* Beauty staines all Faces,
 On *Daphne's* Cheeke grow Rose and Cherry,
 On *Daphne's* Lip a sweeter Berry,

Daphne's snowy Hand but touch'd does melt,
 And then no heauenlier Warmth is felt,
 My *Daphne's* voice tunes all the Spheres,
 My *Daphne's* Musick charmes all Eares,
 Fond am I thus to sing her prayse ;
 These glories now are turn'd to Bayes.

I am not at all sure that Lyly really designed this song to be a little gem of Music. I suspect he partly judged it by its appearance on paper with the recurring adornment of *Daphne's* pretty name. One function of poetry is no doubt to give music to the deaf through the agency of the eye—*Apollo's* song achieves this. The corresponding function is to paint pictures for the blind through the sense of hearing. What more striking example than *Disraeli's* picture of the Nile ? “Wandering in those deserts of Africa that border the Erythrean Sea, I came to the river Nile, to that ancient and mighty and famous stream, whose waters yielded us our earliest civilisation, and which, after having witnessed the formation of so many states and the invention of so many creeds, still flows on with the same serene beneficence, like all that we can conceive of Deity ; in form sublime, in action systematic, in nature bountiful, in source unknown.”

This is not Euphuism but sonority : philosophy of thought not amphibology of phrase. Lyly piles up his similes and contrasts, his redundancies and exfoliations. He accumulates his proofs and parables, multiplies his alliterations and antitheses. He overwhelms us. He is merciless to his reader as *Euphuus* was to *Philautus*. Sir Philip Sidney justly complained of the writers who cast sugar and spice together upon every dish that is served to the table.

But I must make a momentary reaction in your minds lest discouragement should ensue. Lyly could write a poem of appealing simplicity—take for instance the song of the painter *Apelles* describing how *Cupid* gambled away his charms to *Campaspe*, to whom *Apelles* has already lost his heart :

Cupid and my *Campaspe* playd
 At Cardes for kisses, *Cupid* payd ;
 He stakes his Quiuer, Bow, & Arrows,
 His Mothers doues, & teeme of sparrows ;
 Looses them too ; then, downe he throwes
 The corrall of his lippe, the rose
 Growing on's cheek (but none knows how),
 With these, the cristall of his Brow,

And then the dimple of his chinne :
 All these did my *Campaspe* winne.
 At last, hee set her both his eyes ;
 Shee won, and *Cupid* blind did rise.
 O Loue ! has shee done this to Thee ?
 What shall (Alas !) become of mee ?

One would assume that Lyly being the fashionable and cherished writer of his day, fantastic in method, laboured in his composition, caught in the toils of his own learning, and bewildering people by a torrent of precious and far-fetched redundancy, one would have thought him a fit subject for caricature. Fashions change, and more quickly in poetry than in prose, for the poetic style undergoes swifter modification, while the most rapid change of all is in the appreciation of humour. After the brief period of his supremacy, Lyly would have been fair game for the Parodist or topical playwright. I can scarcely trace anything of the kind. It has been said that Ben Jonson caricatured Euphues in *Fastidious Brisk* (*Every man out of his humour*), that Shakespeare in *1 Henry IV* and in *Love's Labour's Lost* owed much to him, and that Benedick and Beatrice in *Much Ado*, Lance and Speed in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and even Mercutio in *Romeo and Juliet*, are direct descendants of Lyly. I confess I am very sceptical about this : indeed I am disinclined to trace caricature even in the generally accepted examples.

Shakespeare observed individuals, but he created types, and if we detect individuals in Justice Shallow, Polonius, Jaques, or Armado, we can well argue them to be generalisations rather than direct portraiture. One writer avowedly tried to caricature Euphues, namely Sir Walter Scott, and a more grotesque and humiliating failure it would be hard to disclose. The fact is that though Lyly was freely copied—the name Euphues was promptly pirated for half a dozen new books, the style itself was not easily parodied. There was a modernity in Lyly's method of handling his theme—English pictures with foreign names—these and his wealth of allusion were readily assimilated by imitators ; but those who wished to go further had to emulate his scrupulous respect for prose, the distinction with which he chose his epithets, not to mention a knowledge of the obscurities of unfamiliar learning. Lyly's influence however was immediate and after a momentary eclipse, abiding. Professor Courthope even goes so far as to trace his direct

influence on Addison, Steele, Dr. Johnson, Burke, and Macaulay. One Victorian critic tracked Lyly to the pulpit of Mr. Spurgeon !

Lyly had an instantaneous effect on his contemporaries. He had many admirers among the authors of his day,—friendly references will be found in Francis Meres, William Webbe, John Eliot, Nash, Greene, and possibly in Spenser :—of imitators, conscious or unavowed, still more. He tuned up our language. He introduced a sense of proprieties and of form, which his mannerisms could scarcely discount, a feeling of respect almost of worship for the word and the sentence, for the decorous movement of language. It has been claimed that in comedy Shakespeare's only model was Lyly. Apart from religious works *Euphues* was the commonest book on the market, and Shakespeare must have studied some of the plays as well ; but I find it hard to acknowledge so large a debt. On the other hand I incline to attribute Lylian influences to the *Arcadia*, far more so than is generally assumed because Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* as a whole is decidedly critical towards Euphuism. But Sidney's later attitude in the *Apology* seems his own reaction against the *Arcadia*, composed soon after the *Euphues*. *Arcadia* seems Euphuism gone mad : but its popularity was founded upon Lyly's work, and its more courtly amenities gave it a vogue which lasted well into the seventeenth century. Every fault of *Euphues* is magnified. William Hazlitt's attack on what he calls a huge cobweb over the face of nature, is worth quoting as an analysis which combines justice with violence :

The book is not romantic, not poetry but casuistry, not nature but art, and the worst form of art which thinks it can do better than nature. Of the number of fine things that are constantly passing thro' the author's mind there is hardly one that he has not contrived to spoil, and to spoil purposely and maliciously in order to aggrandise our idea of himself. Out of 500 folio pages there are hardly I conceive half a dozen sentences expressed simply and directly with the sincere desire to convey the image implied, and without a systematic interpolation of the wit learning ingenuity wisdom and everlasting impertinence of the writer, so as to disguise the object instead of displaying it in its true colours and real proportions. . . . His muse is tattooed and tricked out like an Indian Goddess. . . . *Arcadia* contains 4000 far-fetched similes, 6000 impracticable dilemmas, 10,000 reasons for doing nothing at all, and as many more against it.

And Lyly I fear was answerable for all these iniquities ! But let me continue with criticisms written after Lyly's death. In 1623 Ben

Jonson included Lyly's name in the famous galaxy of poets prefixed to the first folio of Shakespeare. In 1627 Drayton's lines, which I have quoted, recorded some pretty well founded observations. In 1632, the date of the second folio of Shakespeare, Edward Blount collected Lyly's dramatic works : *Six Court Comedies*.

Six
COVRT
Comedies.

Often Presented and Acted
before Queene ELIZABETH,
by the Children of her Ma-
iesties Chappell, and the
Children of Paules.

W[r]itten
By the onely Rare Poet of that
Time, The Witie, Comickall,
Facetiously-Quicke and
vnparalleld :
IOHN LILLY, Master
of Arts.

Decies Repetita placebunt.
LONDON

Printed by *William Stansby* for *Edward*
Blount. 1632.

And Blount's preface (how fine these Early Stuart prefaces are) should be noticed :

To the Reader.

Reader, I haue (for the loue I beare to Posteritie) dig'd vp the Graue of a Rare and Excellent Poet, whom Queene Elizabeth then heard, Graced, and Rewarded. These Papers of his, lay like dead Lawrels in a Churchyard ; But I haue gathered the scattered branches vp, and by a Charme (gotten from Apollo) made them greene againe, and set them vp as Epitaphes to his Memory.

A sinne it were to suffer these Rare Monuments of wit, to lye couered in Dust, and a shame, such conceipted Comedies, should be Acted by none but wormes. Obluion shall not so trample on a sonne of the Muses ; And such a sonne, as they called their Darling. Our Nation are in his debt for a new English which hee taught them. E[u]phues and his England began first that language : All our Ladies

were then his Schollers; And that Beautie in Court, which could not Parley Euphucisme, was as little regarded; as shee which now there, speakes not French.

These his playes Crown'd him with applause, and the Spectators with pleasure. Thou canst not repent the Reading of them ouer: when Old Iohn Lilly, is merry with thee in thy Chamber, Thou shalt say, Few (or None) of our Poets now are such witty Companions: And thanke mee, that brings him to thy Acquaintance.

Thine. Ed. BLOVNT.

But despite his gallant efforts, oblivion did descend upon this Son of the Muses. Lyly was forgotten, his plays were not reprinted for periods ranging from 110 to 250 years. But analogies survived. Hidden influences were still felt. Certain truths govern us willy-nilly, and the centuries have a happy way of correcting each other.

The *Plays*, eight in number, deserve more attention than our leisure permits. They justify his claim to be the first real playwright and the earliest prose dramatist. They differ from their predecessors in being dialogues and not narratives. In one of his fruitless petitions to Queen Elizabeth occurs a phrase of which I have never fathomed the purport:

Most: gracious: and dread Sovereigne; I dare not pester yo^r: Highnes with many wordes and want witt to wrapp vpp much matter in ffewe; This Age, Epitomyes, the Pater-Noster; thrust, into the Compasse of a penny; The world, into the Modell, of a Tennis ball, All Scyences melted, into Sentences, I would I were soe compendyouas, as to expresse my hopes, my ffortunes, my ouerthwartes into sillables, as Marchantes, doe; Riches; into a ffewe Ciphers, Butt, I ffear to Comitt the Error; I discomend, tedyousnes, lyke one; that Roveinge; to searche out, whatt tyme was, spent all his, and knewe it not?

One would not attribute this terseness and compression to Elizabethan literature as a whole, but compared with earlier writers Lyly's plays are certainly less verbose. In *Tancred and Gismonda* of 1568, Cupid starts off with a soliloquy of eighty lines. In *Cornelia* by Thomas Kyd, Cicero begins with an allocution of one hundred and sixty lines, followed by a chorus of fifty-six lines, and then *Cornelia* rambles for one hundred and sixteen. Lyly is much more conversational. *Campaspe* is the earliest and best of his plays, written soon after *Euphues*. In it he "mixes mirth with counsel"—I wish I could see it acted. *Endymion* has marked merits, but its very elaborate caste and certain obvious references to Queen Elizabeth have led people

to read it as a political allegory in which her affections for the Earl of Leicester and the by-play of attendant courtiers, rather than the dramatic art, are treated as the governing motive. *Midas* too, a play of 1589, with certain allusions to the Spanish Armada, has been made the subject of elaborate but unconvincing ingenuity : it is said to be an allegory of the aggressive politics of Spain. There is a musical contest between Apollo and Pan—the former sings in honour of Daphne, the fascinating lyric I read just now—Apollo, if you please, is Protestant sovereignty, Daphne being the Protestant faith ! That is surprising enough, but Pan (of all classical Demigods) is said to represent Papal supremacy, and Syrinx, that sweet winsome little personage, the Roman Catholic faith. Here is the crucial passage. After Apollo has sung, accompanying himself on the lute, Pan says :

Now let me tune my pipes. I cannot pipe & sing, thats the ods in the instrument, not the art : but I will pipe and then sing ; and then iudge both of the art and instrument.

He pipes, and then sings.

Pan's Syrinx was a Girle indeed,
Though now shee's turn'd into a Reed,
From that deare Reed *Pan's* Pipe does come,
A Pipe that strikes *Apollo* dumbe ;
Nor Flute, nor Lute, nor Gitterne can
So chant it, as the Pipe of *Pan* ;
Cross-gartred Swaines, & Dairie girles,
With faces smug, and round as Pearles,
When *Pan's* shrill Pipe begins to play,
With dancing weare out Night and Day :
The Bag-pipes Drone his Hum layes by,
When *Pan* sounds vp his Minstrelsie,
His Minstrelsie ! O Base ! This Quill
Which at my mouth with winde I fill,
Puts me in minde, though Her I misse,
That still my *Syrinx* lips I kisse.

It is irksome to read fierce controversies into such dainty lyrics ; but as a race we like blends of paradox and hyperbole, even when as whimsical as these ascriptions are. Nor should they be discouraged, for the pursuit stimulates research into the philology, structure and intention of our literature. I applaud the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy which has directed many earnest though misguided minds to a systematic study of Elizabethan authors, for such theories must repose upon close and exhaustive labours. However faulty the logic,

however far-fetched the deductions, the actual processes of compiling the argument are serviceable. It is excellent practice and may always lead to better things. Meanwhile I recommend to the ingenious such exercises as proving that Bacon's *Essays* were written by Shakespeare, or that Lyly is responsible for the *Song of Solomon* in the Authorised version of the *Bible*.

No such allegorical problems are raised by Lyly's other plays. *Mother Bombie* was a successful play, but with one of those maddening plots which make Terentian comedy so fantastic, and in this case the complications are really so extravagant that I profess myself quite unable to understand what is going on. Anyhow there are three young couples, of whom one pair is imbecile, and another of doubtful parentage. Clothes get exchanged, courtships occur between unexpected parties : offspring is switched from one father to another, four or five servants lie without a moment's intermission, and the nonsense ends by everybody concerned getting married to the wrong person. It is a heart-rending, head-wracking affair, but I dare say was popular in circles which liked broad knockabout farce. The remaining plays, *Sapho and Phao* of 1583-4, *Gallathea*, and *Love's Metamorphosis* his last work, are equable documents, phrased with distinction, and though defective in action, and apt to disregard the unities of time and place, deserve high rank in the drama of the period. All his plays with the exception of *The Woman in the Moone* are in prose. It cannot be said that Lyly established a canon for the guidance of his successors, but his influence was undoubtedly great and in this direction lasted much longer than it is possible to prove.

Lyly had a feeling for that rusticity which is developed with such irresistible charm in Shakespeare, and this leads me to consider the important claim advanced by Mr. Bond that a number of so-called Entertainments must be ascribed to Lyly. These were in effect the Garden-parties and pageants prepared for Queen Elizabeth when she paid visits to great personages at their country seats—at Cowdray with Lord Montacute as host, at Elvetham in Hampshire, Lord Hertford's at Quarrendon, at Bisham, Sudley, Ricorte, Harefield and so on. The Queen was on progress, and her entertainment was on the most lavish scale. At Harefield, for instance, the outlay appears to have reached no less than £25,000 of our money, not taking into account the contributions in kind made by country neighbours.

Let me give an example of these magnificent entertainments : at Elvetham in September, 1591. I briefly summarise the record, thirty-six pages printed in quarto the same year. Lord Hertford employed three hundred artificers to enlarge his house and erect a score of outbuildings and offices. A goodly pond was made in the park. When the Queen arrived, Lord Hertford with a retinue of three hundred, mostly wearing gold chains and in their hats black and yellow feathers, escorted her to the House, but on the way the procession was stopped by a soothsaying poet, clad in green and crowned with a laurel garland. While he was reciting sixty Hexameters, half a dozen Virgins were behind him, busily removing wooden blocks out of Her Majesty's way, which blocks were supposed to be laid there by the person of Envy. Then the girls, dressed in gowns of taffeta sarcenet of divers colours and flowery garlands on their heads, sang a sweet Song of six parts, and strewed the way with Flowers.

A quarter of an hour after the Queen reached the house there was a tremendous feu-de-joie of artillery at the artificial lake. Then came supper, then a concert by six musicians, and then what Mr. Pepys used to jot down at the end of a long busy and eventful day.

Next morning was stormy ; but after dinner there was a Water-festival—Nereus, five Tritons, Neptune, Oceanus, all swimming about in the pond. In a boat there was a concert-party—cornets played a jig—the show was stately. One of the islands suddenly burst into flames. Silvanus and his train salute the Queen, Nereus presents an oration, and a song is sung in the pinnace. It is now the turn of Silvanus to deliver a speech—there is some bye play and Silvanus ends by being ducked. He retires, and running towards the bower at the end of the pond, so affrighted a number of country-people by his ugliness, that they ran from him in fear and thereby moved great laughter. Neræa makes two speeches and the Queen retires.

At 9 a.m. next morning the Queen was serenaded by a trio, to whom she graciously accorded an encore. After dinner, ten of Lord Hertford's servants, all Somersetshire men, played lawn tennis—the Queen was pleased to behold their pastime for more than an hour and a half. After supper fireworks, and a banquet. I will not describe the former, the text being rather technical. But the banquet ! Two hundred of Lord Hertford's gentlemen lighted by a hundred Torch-bearers served it—there were a thousand dishes. Here is the menu so far as confectionery was concerned :

Her Maiesties Armes in sugar-worke.

The seuerall Armes of all our Nobilitie in sugar-worke.

Many men and women in sugar-worke, and some inforst by hand.

Castles, Forts, Ordinance, Drummers, Trumpeters, and soldiors of all sorts, in sugar-worke.

Lions, Vnicorns, Beares, Horses, Camels, Bulls, Rams, Dogges, Tygers, Elephants, Antelops, Dromedaries, Apes, and all other beasts in sugar-worke.

Egles, Falcons, Cranes, Bustardes, Heronshawes, Bytters, Pheasants, Partridges, Quales, Larkes, Sparrowes, Pigeons, Cockes, Oules, and all that flie, in sugar-worke.

Snakes, adders, vipers, frogs, toades, and all kind of wormes, in sugar-worke.

Mermaides, whales, dolphins, cungars, sturgions, pikes, carps, breams, and all sortes of fishes, in sugar-worke.

All these were standing dishes of sugar-work.

The selfe same deuises were also there all in flat-worke. Moreouer these particulars following, and many such like, were in flat sugar-worke, and sinamond.

March-panes, grapes, oisters, muscles, cockles, periwinckles, crabs, lobsters.

Apples, peares, and plums, of all sorts.

Preserues, suckats, iellies, leaches, marmelats, pasts comfits, of all sorts.

You will agree with me that it resembles the *Benedicite omnia opera Domini*! And how Lylian in its classifications, how Euphuistic in its majestic survey of natural history. Then came the last day of the visit.

On Thursday morning, her Maiestie was no sooner readie, and at her Gallery window, looking into the Garden, but there began three Cornets to play certaine fantastike dances, at the measure whereof the Fayery Queene came into the garden, dauncing with her maides about her. Shee brought with her a garland made in fourme of an imperiall Crowne; within the sight of her Maiestie, shee fixed (it) vpon a siluer staffe, and sticking the staffe into the ground, spake as followeth. . . .

The speech was ineffective; it was followed by a six-part song with music of the Lute, Bandora, Base-Violl, Citterne, Treble-Violl and Flute. The Queen called for an encore, and dismissed the actors with thanks and a gracious largesse. The Queen departed an hour later—but she was again waylaid by Nereus and all the Sea-gods, by Silvanus and his company, likewise by the three Graces and the three Hours, wringing their hands and showing signs of sorrow. A poet recited an appropriate ode, and as the Queen passed through

the gate, the ditty of "Come again" was sung, "with excellent division, by two that were cunning":

O Come againe faire Natures treasure,
Whose lookes yeeld ioyes exceeding measure.

O come againe heau'ns chiefe delight,
Thine absence makes eternall night.

O come againe worlds starbright eye,
Whose presence does adorne the skie.

O come againe sweet beauties Sunne:
When thou art gone, our ioyes are done.

Her Maiestie was so highly pleased with this and the rest, that shee openly protested to my Lord of Hertford, that the beginning, processe, and the end of this his entertainment was so honorable, as hereafter hee should finde the rewarde thereof in her especiall fauour. And manie and most happie yeares may her gracious Maiestie continue, to fauour and foster him, and all others which do truly loue and honor her.

What an alluring picture of the Al-fresco life of Elizabethan times! Was our climate more genial in those days? I remember reading how a Bishop of Ely picked strawberries in his garden off High Holborn in the month of March. Vineyards flourished all over southern England. And there is the record of many such entertainments,—long continued affairs which would only be justified were some reasonable clemency of the heavens assured. It is true that our pictorial art does not portray this elaborate out-door pageantry, whereas in Flanders and France these fêtes were of regular occurrence; but literary proof is ample: and they were not mere picnics—not like the garden-parties of to-day, ceremonies of two or three hours' duration, which make us nervous for weeks beforehand, and often drench us during their consummation. Either our climate has deteriorated, or our insensibility to the elements must have decreased.

To me the interesting feature is their artistic side, their poetic and theatrical aspects, their music, costume, country games, and so forth, for I feel that local talent must have been employed. We know that the earlier Morality plays were widespread, and that there were distinct local schools, each with its own style of language and treatment. So too perhaps in these pastoral entertainments, where the resources of the district must have been largely employed, actors and even the playwrights may have been drawn from the neighbourhood, perhaps

indeed from the actual residents of the place. Local talent, local effort, these are the conditions of progress one should encourage. One of the most hopeful aspects of the revival in our dramatic art is the emergence of hidden energies—or should one say of long forgotten forces—talents which had been suppressed, ambitions which had been atrophied, but which are undergoing a *Rinascimento*, revealing in the most unexpected places, resolute personality and aspiration. All such developments deserve well, for fresh and spontaneous progress must not be sought in the city alone. It is the province and not the capital which creates art as well as a nation.

And now having spoken of Lyly as novelist poet playwright and pageant-master, let me in conclusion refer to a last feature of his literary life, where Lyly the parent of Euphuism, the elegant master of refined and picturesque imagery—student novelist and philosopher, is suddenly transformed into a pamphleteer—yes, and a common vulgar pamphleteer into the bargain. It is the most surprising paradox, not indeed that he should have plunged into the arena of theological strife, but that in the process he should have divested himself of much if not of all that confers distinction on his writing. One can only presume that he adapted his style to the taste of the readers he hoped to influence.

In 1579-80 the Martin Marprelate controversy was raging. A Calvinistic feeling was abroad, a Puritan movement which took the form of an attack on Episcopacy in general, but which was especially directed against Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to some extent against Aylmer, Bishop of London. They were protagonists in defence of the Church, but also the chief agents of the Censorship—powers which they exercised with severity. Books were secretly printed to escape this supervision, and at one time the Marprelate pamphlets were produced in different parts of the country. These itinerant presses were captured in Kent, at Haseley near Rugby, and one was captured at Newton Heath near Manchester in August, 1589, when printing a famous pamphlet called *Hay any more Worke for Cooper*.

The Bishops were determined people and received support from the Privy Council, which apprehended attacks on the Queen. They invoked the help of Nash and Lyly. Volleys of Anti-Martinist tracts and poems appeared, and it is evident that the stage was also used to ridicule the movement. Lyly's chief contribution appeared in

September, 1589, anonymously. *Pappe with a Hatchet* was its name : here is its Title-page :

Pappe with an hatchet.

Alias,

A figge for my God sonne.

Or

Cracke me this nut.

Or

*A Countrie cufse, that is, a sound boxe of the
eare, for the idiot Martin to hold his peace,
seeing the patch will take no
warning.*

*Written by one that dares call a dog, a dog,
and made to preuent Martins dog daies.*

Imprinted by *Iohn Anoke*, and *Iohn Astile*, for the
Bayliue of *Withernam*, *cum priuilegio perennita-
tis*, and are to bee sold at the signe of the
crab tree cudgell in thwack-
coate lane.

A sentence.

Martin hangs fit for my mowing.

It is a fitting introduction to what follows.

To the Father and the two Sonnes, Huffe, Ruffe, and Snuffe, the three tame ruffians of the Church, which take pepper in the nose, because they can not marre Prelates < , > grating.

Roome for a royster ; so thats well sayd, itch a little further for a good fellowe. Now haue at you all my gaffers of the rayling religion, tis I that must take you a peg lower. I am sure you looke for more worke, you shall haue wood enough to cleaue, make your tongue the wedge, and your head the beetle, Ile make such a splinter runne into your wits, as shal make thē ranckle till you become fooles. Nay, if you shoot bookes like fooles bolts, Ile be so bold as to make your iudgements quiuer with my thunderbolts. If you meane to gather clowdes in the Commonwealt, to threaten tempests, for your flakes of snowe weeie pay you with stones of hayle ; if with an Easterlie winde you bring Catterpillers into the Church, with a Northerne wind weeie drie barrennes into your wits.

We care not for a Scottish mist, though it wet vs to the skin, you shal be sure your cockscombs shall not be mist, but pearst to the skuls. I professe rayling, and think it as good a cudgell for a Martin, as a stone for a dogge, or a whippe for an Ape, or poyson for a rat.

Yet find fault with no broad termes, for I haue mesured yours with mine, & I find yours broader iust by the list. Say not my speeches are light, for I haue weighed yours and mine, and I finde yours lighter by twentie graines than the allowance. For number you exceede, for you haue thirtie ribauld words for my one, and yet you beare a good spirit. I was loath so to write as I haue done, but that I learnde, that he that drinckes with cutters, must not be without his ale dagger; nor hee that buckles with *Martin*, without his lauish termes.

Who would currie an Asse with an luorie combe? giue the beast thistles for prouender. I doo but yet angle with a silken flye, to see whether *Martins* will nibble; and if I see that, why then I haue wormes for the nonce, and will giue them line enough like a trowte, till they swallow both hooke and line, and then *Martin* beware your gilles, for Ile make you daunce at the poles end.

I knowe *Martin* will with a trice bestride my shoulders. Well, if he ride me, let the foole sit fast, for my wit is verie kickish; which if he spurre with his copper replie, when it bleedes, it will all to besmeare their consciences.

If a *Martin* can play at chestes, as well as his nephewe the ape, he shall knowe what it is for a scaddle pawne, to crosse a Bishop in his owne walke. Such dydoppers must be taken vp, els theile not stick to check the king. Rip vp my life, discipher my name, fill thy answer as full of lies as of lines, swel like a toade, hisse like an adder, bite like a dog, & chatter like a monkey, my pen is prepared and my minde; and if yee chaunce to find any worse words than you brought, let them be put in your dads dictionarie. And so farewell, and be hangd, and I pray God ye fare no worse.

Yours at an houres warning
Double V.

We are back to *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, with the bucolic nomenclature, its rough cut and thrust, its puns and vulgar repartees of the hustings. Lyly's own phrase structure is evident throughout, though no longer embellished with mythology and classical learning: here and there he cannot resist a Latin quotation. The book is essentially English in its outlook. As for the text and argument, I will only say that it is difficult to follow, for the lampoon is based upon personalities, the theological matter is abrupt and allusive, and it would seem that Lyly was more anxious to smash opponents than to destroy their case. What I have read is a fair specimen of the whole tract. There is however one short passage where Lyly allows his better feelings to present one little story which helps to redeem the work from the charge of unbroken scurrility:

There came to a Duke in *Italie*, a large lubber and a beggerlie, saying he had the Philosophers Stone, and that hee could make golde

faster than the Duke could spend it; The Duke askt him, why hee made none to mainteine himself? Because, quoth he, I could neuer get a secret place to worke in; for once I indeuoured, and the Popes holinesse sent for me, whom if he had caught, I should haue been a prentice to mainteine his pride. The Duke minding to make triall of his cunning, & eager of golde, set him to worke closely in a vault, where it was not knowen to his neerest seruants. This Alcumist, in short time consumed two thousande pound of the Dukes gold, and brought him halfe a Ducket: whie (quoth the Duke) is this all? All quoth he my Lord, that I could make by Art. Wel said the Duke, then shalt thou see my cunning: for I will boyle thee, straine thee, and then drie thee, so that of a lubber, that weighed three hundred weight, I will at last [at least?] make a dram of knaues powder. The Duke did it.

It is difficult to offer any explanation of Lyly's excursion. The vigorous argument and the unmeasured abuse seem to indicate that he was really moved by the Martinist pamphleteers:—or was he only actuated by loyalty towards great people from whom he had expectations? Who knows: that he was not really happy in the choice of enterprise may be inferred from those lines in the preface where he laments having to write as he did, and indeed would not have done so had he not learned that "he that drinks with cutters must not be without ale daggers." One may hope that he would have preferred to act upon his earlier aphorism "a crust with quietness is better than quails with unrest." *Pappe Hatchet* produced its counter-attack, followed by furious rejoinder. The pamphlet war continued for a time, Lyly devoted himself again to writing plays—and perhaps arranging the gay pageants for Queen Elizabeth, returning home like Ronsard after a pastoral success, but not without a touch of melancholy—for Lyly too had his bitter disappointments, his sense of duty performed yet unrewarded.

Donque, puisque la nuit sombre
Pleine d'ombre
Vient les montagnes saisir,
Retournons, troupe gentille
dans la Ville
Demis-saoulés de plaisir.
Jamais l'homme, tant qu'il meure,
ne demeure
fortuné parfaitement:
Toujours avec la liesse
la tristesse
Se mêle secrètement.

Pappe Hatchet and the Martinist controversy were soon forgotten. Lyly died and was soon forgotten. Then puritanism revived and asserted the full sway of its uncompromising force. But though Lyly's name vanished, he too exercised an influence, unrecognised it is true, and no longer attributed to him, but vivid in essence though unrecognised in source. We trace him in the cadence of George Herbert and Izaak Walton, in the measured and fastidious prose of Goldsmith. Burke's lucid English owes much to the scrupulous accuracy of Lyly's method of selection. Sterne, Charles Lamb, Landor, Ruskin, Walter Pater, whose chapter on Euphuism is so consummate a masterpiece as to repel every effort at quotation, all these embraced the living sentiment and genius of words : each word fulfilling its allotted task, each phrase marshalled in its due place, every page in proper sequence. And should not we too emulate their affection, and pay our tribute to the world of words, to those instruments which form the noble heritage of our Mother Tongue ?

SOME MONUMENTS OF THE GREAT PERSECUTION.¹

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THE struggle between the Roman State and the Christian Church is abundantly illustrated in the literature, historical and controversial, of the two opposing parties ; and many a grim footnote to the story may be found in the records of Roman legislation and in the Christian martyrologies. In this lecture I will place before you some less familiar records of the struggle, some of them new, from the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

The ecclesiastical historians have pointed out that a new stage in the struggle of the Empire with its Christian subjects was reached in the persecution of Decius, which began in A.D. 249. During the preceding 200 years, if we except the initiative of individual emperors like Domitian and Marcus Aurelius, persecution had been largely haphazard and spasmodical, generally undertaken at the instigation of the mob in this or that city, and urged on an unwilling or indifferent government. Trajan's instruction to Pliny that the Christians were 'not to be hunted out' expressed the usual attitude of the Roman government ; and the records of many individual martyrdoms show us the Roman officials doing their utmost to save accused Christians from the consequences of their obstinacy. But with the persecutions of the latter half of the third century all this is changed, and the persecuting Emperors, Decius, Probus, and Diocletian with his associates now appear as active instigators of persecution.

We have hints in literature that the religious policy of some of

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 13 February, 1924. References, mainly to recent work, have been added.

these persecutors was not merely destructive, but constructive as well ; with the attempt to stamp out the Christian religion went an attempt to revive and give fresh energy to the decaying pagan cult. Maximinus II organised a pagan priesthood on the model of the Christian hierarchy, a plan which was repeated on a more elaborate scale by Julian fifty years later. In the inscriptions of Asia Minor we can trace some of the effects of this attempted revival. I shall refer to some inscriptions which reveal the movement at work ; but before doing so I would invite you to glance at another pagan document, more than a century earlier in date, which stands in an interesting relation to the early Christian mission.

Recent work on the papyrus rolls discovered at Herculaneum has thrown much light on the activity of the philosophical schools in the earlier Graeco-Roman period, and we are entitled to assume a similar activity for a couple of hundred years later. Throughout the early centuries of the Roman Empire, there were Epicurean fraternities in many of the eastern cities, one of whose main concerns was the discussion and elucidation of this or that phrase used by the founder of their sect. The fraternities were in continual communication with each other, controversy over the meaning of the *ipse dixit* went merrily forward, and you had a Rhodian and an Athenian interpretation just as at a later period you find an Antiochene confronted by an Alexandrine exegesis. Complaints were rife that the disputants did not even take the trouble to check their references ; 'they say "Epicurus wrote this," but cannot say where.' The writer of a recent account of these disputants compares them to Socialists of different colour, disputing as to the meaning of a dictum of Karl Marx.¹ A more pertinent parallel, for our present purpose, may be found in a letter of that muscular Christian Bishop Synesius of Cyrene, who tells a correspondent that 'he cannot remember the exact words, but can assure him that such and such an expression is attributed to God in the Bible.' The mentality of the Epicureans of Asia Minor about A.D. 150-200 is set in a better light by the quaint action of an Epicurean of Oenoanda in Lycia, named Diogenes. This man built a large *stoa* and had engraved on

¹ Prof. J. L. Stocks in Powell and Barber's *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, p. 22.

it an inscription on the scale of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* in which (he tells us) the whole gospel of Epicurus was placed before the eyes of citizens and strangers 'that no man might perish for lack of the medicine of salvation'—a phrase which reminds us of Ignatius' description of the eucharistic bread as 'the medicine of immortality.' This is the true missionary spirit, and the inscription, of which large fragments have survived, reveals a most interesting character, who is somewhat shaky in his History of Philosophy, but conveys his earnest message in vigorous Greek. We recall that at this very period the Pauline churches in the Lycus valley, to the north of Lycia, were actively engaged in missionary work, and that a Roman road, about 80 miles in length, led from Laodicea to Oenoanda; and we find ourselves wondering whether the influence of Diogenes and his fellow-Epicureans in the cities of Asia Minor did more to help or to hinder the work of the Christian missionaries. Lucian, writing about the same time, classes Christians with Epicureans, and sneers at both alike. And the Christian inscriptions of Phrygia betray more than one trace of Epicurean influence. 'In Phrygia,' says Ramsay, 'there was no chasm separating the Christians from Greek culture, and it is natural that some should go further than others in the adoption and assimilation of Greek philosophical sentiment.'¹ Similar inscriptions in Gaul perplexed Le Blant, who regarded them as epitaphs of Christians who had given way to debauchery, and mention the fact on their tombstones to win merit by confession. It is true that the early Christians often described themselves on their tombstones as 'sinners,' but they were not apt to particularise. One of the Gaulish examples: 'Here lies in peace Mercasto, who lived a prosperous life of sixty years; and a jolly life it was,' has been compared by Ramsay with an epitaph of Eumeneia in Phrygia, which threatens the violator of the tomb that he will have to reckon with the living God both now and on the day of judgment, and closes with three lines of marked Epicurean cast, which recall the philosophy of Horace. Such inscriptions show how broad was the way which led from enlightened philosophic thought to Christianity.

These inscriptions, pagan and Christian, help us to focus our eyes

¹ *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 517.

to the picture of pagan activity presented by the memorials of a priestly family of Akmonia, which Ramsay has brought into relation with the persecution of Maximinus II.¹ The head of this family was one Aurelius Epitynchanos, who is mentioned on two inscriptions, one belonging to the Imperial estate of the Tembris Valley² or its immediate neighbourhood, the other, dated A.D. 313, belonging to the city of Akmonia. Its date places the latter inscription in the last stage of Maximinus' struggle against Christianity. In the former inscription, Epitynchanos is described as an astrologer and diviner, honoured with the citizenship of many cities, and leaving sons who were equally skilled in his arts. The second inscription—that dated A.D. 313—runs as follows: 'In the year 398, and observing the commands of the immortals, I that speak all things³ am Athanatos Epitynchanos, initiated by an honourable priestess of the people bearing an honourable name Spatale, whom (ἦν) the immortal gods glorified both within and beyond the bounds (of Akmonia); for she redeemed many from evil tortures (ἐλυτρώσατο γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐκ κακῶν βασάνων). The high-priest Epitynchanos, glorified by the immortal gods, was buried by Diogas Epitynchanos and his bride Tation and their children' (names follow). An addition runs: 'Athanatos Epitynchanos, son of Pius, glorified by Hecate first, secondly by Manes Daos Heliodromos Zeus, thirdly (by) Phoebus leader and prophetic, truly I received the gift prophetic of truth in my own city and in its territory, and to give laws' (? : the text is obscure at this point). 'In the sight of all I have this gift from all the immortals, etc.' None can mistake the note of artificiality in this inscription of the pagan revival: 'the profusion of divine names and epithets, the revival of old cults, the respect for prophecy, and the confidence in divine favour and guidance—all are characteristic of the pagan revival.'⁴ This high-priest was undoubtedly a member of the hierarchy instituted by Maximinus II in imitation of and in opposition to the Christian priesthood. And his claim to a knowledge of astrology, a mixture of science and quackery

¹ *Pauline Studies*, p. 109 ff.; *Cities and Bishoprics*, II, p. 566.

² On this estate, a centre of Montanism, see *Bulletin*, 1923, p. 319 ff.

³ ἐγὼ ἵμε ὁ λαλῶν πάντα: cf. *John*, IV, 26 (Ramsay).

⁴ Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, p. 111. Ramsay's view (*ibid.*: repeated from *Cities and Bishoprics*, II, p. 568) that ἐλυτρώσατο πολλοὺς ἐκ κακῶν βασάνων is a parody of the Christian zeal for conversion hardly does justice to the historical interest of this phrase, which refers to the activity of the

like the mediæval alchemy, shows how the revival addressed itself to the educated classes of the cities whose interest in philosophy, whether they were pagans or Christians, we have already remarked on.

But it is not only in the cities of Asia Minor that we can detect traces of the third century revival of paganism. Far more striking are the memorials of this movement which have survived on the territories occupied in the Roman period by the great Imperial estates.

In the beginning of the first century of our era, Strabo, an Anatolian Greek, painted a picture of the political geography of Asia Minor. The foreground of his sketch is occupied by the numerous Greek cities which had been founded in every part of the peninsula by the successors of Alexander the Great and other kings; in the background loom the vast Imperial estates, formerly the property of the temples which must at one time have been large land-owning concerns, now, in those parts of Asia Minor which had been incorporated in the Roman Empire, the private property of the Roman Emperors. Strabo had visited one of these estates, that of Comana in Cappadocia (still a vassal kingdom), and he describes it in some detail. It covered a large extent of territory, tilled by 6000 serfs, who were in a general way subject to the Kings of Cappadocia, but took their orders chiefly from the priest. The priest was the absolute lord (κύριος) of the temple and the serfs, and was second in honour in Cappadocia to the King. As a rule, priests and kings were of the same family.

As the Empire absorbed province after province of Asia Minor, these estates passed into the *patrimonium*, the private property of the reigning Emperor and his successors. The *coloni* or tillers of the soil on the estates thus passed into a relation of special dependence on the Emperor; on inscriptions of Asia Minor such *coloni* address petitions to the Emperors, and describe themselves as 'your own farmers'¹ As the heir of the Hellenistic King and the associate of the god in the

pagan priestess in granting certificates (*libelli*) to those who recanted, or were falsely suspected of Christianity, in the persecution. See *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 240, where it is shown that the βύσανοι are the tortures of the persecution. The same word is used by Bishop Eugenius of Laodicea, who suffered in the persecution, *J.R.S.* 1920, p. 42 ff.

¹ See Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1897, p. 419: γεωργοὶ οἱ ὑμέτεροι, χωρίον ὑμέτερόν ἐσμεν ἱερώτατον (in a petition to Philip Aug. and Philip Caes. A.D. 244-246).

absolute ownership of the estates, the Emperor, who was himself worshipped as a god over the Empire generally, and had temples built to him in the cities, would naturally inherit or share the god's rights to the worship and obedience of his people. It is clear that in such a situation the Emperors' power to maintain, control, and direct the pagan cult was immense, and that if an individual Emperor, say a Decius or a Maximinus, wished to revive and organise paganism as a fighting force against Christianity, the cult associations on these estates lay ready to his hand as an instrument which he could wield with effect. Tertullian, at the end of the second century, described the Jewish synagogues as the *fontes persecutionum*, the sources of the persecutions; and we have an Anatolian complaint to the same effect in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*. In late-third-century inscriptions of Asia Minor we have evidence that the pagan associations on the Imperial estates became, if not the originating sources of persecution, at any rate the *foci* in which the anti-Christian spirit of oriental paganism was fostered, and the channels through which persecution was directed, by the persecuting Emperors.

It is of course in accordance with analogy that the *coloni* on the Imperial estates of Asia Minor should be organised in associations for the worship of the ancient god of the temple, with whom the reigning Emperor or Emperors were now associated. Such religious organisation underlay or accompanied all ancient forms of association.

Such an association has been proved to have existed on the large group of estates which have emerged into the light of history in the course of recent exploration in the Phrygian highlands of Asia and South Galatia.

Pisidian Antioch—a Phrygian town which derived its epithet from its proximity to the border of Pisidia—is famous in Christian History as the city in which Paul began his mission to the Galatians. At first sight, the Apostle's choice might seem unpropitious. Crowning the hill which looks down on the city from the east, stood the temple of Mên Askaênos, one of the largest land-owners in Asia Minor. Soon after B.C. 300, Seleucus Nicator carved a demesne out of the god's estate, and made it the territory of his new foundation Antiochia. The extent of this demesne is unknown; what is certain is that when Paul visited the city it was bounded on at least two sides by land belonging to the divine estate, cultivated by Phrygian-speaking

rustics who were the god's own people and who had passed seventy-five years earlier, along with the land they tilled, into the private possession of the Roman Emperors.

For a century and a half after Paul's visits to Antioch, the inscriptions of the citizens and residents of Antioch itself are our chief evidence for the history of the valley. But early in the third century of our era the Imperial estates suddenly became vocal, and their story can be read on a remarkable series of documents whose discovery went on, step by step, throughout the thirty years preceding the war.

These documents are the inscriptions of the Tekmoreian guest-friends, a religious society formed or revived to foster the worship of the pagan god, with a membership drawn from towns and villages scattered over the whole of eastern Phrygia, and the Pisidian borderland. Many of the villages can be identified on Imperial estates, and even the dwellers in some of the cities were drawn into the movement. Some of the inscriptions are long subscription lists, detailing the sums contributed by members for various purposes connected with the cult. Others appear to correspond to certificates of baptism and confirmation, and show that the performance of an act of ritual was a condition of membership of the society. Many examples of the latter class have been found on the wall of the *peribolos* of Mên, and here the town population of Antioch is largely represented in the dedications. What the act of ritual consisted in, we do not yet know. The Imperial character of the association is clearly reflected in one inscription, which informs us that the *procurator* and an *actor* who managed the estate for the Emperor were priests in the cult.¹

Now there is nothing revolutionary in all this. Similar societies are known to have existed on Imperial estates elsewhere in Asia Minor and in other parts of the Roman Empire. The value for our purpose of the Tekmoreian inscriptions is, firstly, the large amount of information they contain regarding the purpose and organisation of the society, and, secondly, the impression they convey, both from their language and from the local circumstances which provide their setting, that the whole movement was artificial and engineered from above.

Among the traces of artificiality remarked on by Ramsay we may point to the name of the society itself and of the ritual act

¹ Ramsay, *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 151 ff.

from which it was derived. The verb which denotes the central act in the cult occurs only here, and is never heard of elsewhere before or after. There is no doubt that it was expressly invented for this pagan revival. From the old poetical word *τέκμων*, 'a sign,' a verb *τεκμορεύειν* was coined, and the participle *τεκμορεύσας* was used of an initiate who had performed the ceremony. The initiates as a body were called *Ξένοι Τεκμορείοι*, or 'Friends of the Antient Order of the Sign.'

I may mention one more trace of artificiality in the activities of this association. Greek, as is well known, was the language used in inscriptions of the Imperial period in Asia Minor, in both town and country. Greek was the language of educated society and of Roman administration; all official and private documents were composed in Greek. This does not mean, however, that the native languages, spoken by the various peoples settled in Asia Minor when the Pergamene and Seleucid penetration was effected, had ceased to be spoken. Strabo indeed tells us that in his day Lydian was no longer spoken in the thoroughly hellenised district of Lydia; but we have evidence that the Galatian, Phrygian, Pisidian, Lycaonian, and Cappadocian languages were spoken as late as the fourth century of our era, and in some cases even later. These languages were spoken, as is natural, in the country districts, and therefore on the Imperial estates, down to about A.D. 350 at least. We have many late-third and fourth century inscriptions from these districts, but, with one exception, not a scrap of any of these languages appears to have been committed to stone. The exception is the Phrygian language. Phrygian inscriptions dating from early in the first millenium B.C. can still be read on the tombs of the Phrygian kings in the 'Monument Country' around Kümbet. Thereafter, for about a thousand years, not a word of Phrygian has been found carved in stone. Then suddenly, about A.D. 250-300, the peasants on the Imperial estates which we have been discussing began to use Phrygian in the formula by which they warned trespassers off their burial-grounds. This revival of the use of the language of the mother goddess for a religious purpose is clearly part of the 'revivalist' policy of the Tekmoreian association; amid the various methods employed by the Roman Empire for fostering loyalty through religion, it is, I think, unique. Similar linguistic revivals in our own day have as their motive the

feeling of nationalism. It is characteristic of ancient society that the only linguistic revival of which we have any record should have a religious motive.

Such are a few aspects of the pagan social background of the third century persecutions in Phrygia. We now proceed to study some of the Christian monuments of the same region and period. But first let us pay a flying visit to the Crypt of the Popes, in the Cemetery of Callisto at Rome.

The accidental preservation of a vast amount of artistic and epigraphical evidence in the Roman Catacombs has led to the formulation of a body of doctrine which, while it has been of immense service to Christian archæologists working in other parts of the Roman Empire, has not been without its pitfalls. Josef Strzygowski has called attention to some of these pitfalls in the domain of early Christian Art ;¹ and similar caution is required in applying rules deduced from the practice of the subterranean engravers of the Catacombs to the early Christian burial custom of Asia Minor. Texts like Matthew x, 18-20 have been invoked to explain the extreme brevity, simplicity, and 'other worldliness' of the epitaphs of the earliest Roman Christians ;² but the totally different character of the earliest Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor compels us to seek a different explanation, and reminds us that an epitaph on one of the thousands of serried *columbaria* in this vast city of the dead need be no more than a label or 'identity disc ;' here there was no need to mention the fact of burial, or the extent of the burial ground, or (in a family crypt) the family relationships—a bare name was enough. With these considerations in our minds let us enter the famous Crypt in which the Popes of the third century were laid to rest, and glance at some of their epitaphs.

Here we see the epitaph of Fabianus, Pope of Rome from A.D. 236 till his martyrdom in A.D. 250. It is in Greek, and consists of the words Φαβιανὸς ἐπί(σκοπος) followed by a monogram meaning 'martyr.' But the monogram is not so deeply cut as the rest of the inscription : it was manifestly a later addition. De Rossi maintained that the suppression of the title 'martyr' can hardly have been necessary as an act of prudence, since another inscription in this same crypt,

¹ *Origin of Christian Church Art*, Ch. I.

² See Le Blant, *Manuel d'Épig. chrét.* p. 6 ff.

that of Pope Cornelius, exhibits this title, as also does the epitaph of St. Hyacinthus in the Catacomb of St. Hermes. He therefore suggested that the addition of the title in the case of Pope Fabianus was delayed for eighteen months, in consequence of the Holy See remaining vacant during this period ; that Fabianus, though actually a martyr at the time of his burial, was not *martyr vindicatus*. This theory, which appeared convincing, has been exploded by the subsequent discovery (in 1909) of the epitaph of Pope Pontianus, Ποντιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος μ(ά)ρτυς, on which the monogram for 'martyr' is again clearly a later addition. Pontianus died in exile in Sardinia during the persecution under Maximinus I, and his body was brought to Rome some three years later. Obviously, he must have been technically a 'martyr'—*martyr vindicatus*—before his burial ; and we find ourselves inclining to the hypothesis that the title 'martyr' was carved on the tombs of Fabianus and Pontianus after the legalisation of Christianity. What then are we to think of the epitaph of Pope Cornelius (martyred in A.D. 253), which has the title 'martyr' written in full, and apparently contemporary with the rest of the inscription ? Was this epitaph (the only epitaph in the Crypt of the Roman Popes composed in Latin) a later restoration, or did the practice vary ? Our purpose in visiting the Crypt of the Popes is not to find an answer to this question, but merely to remind ourselves that even in the comparative seclusion of the Roman Catacombs the title 'martyr' was not engraved on a martyr's tomb as a matter of course.

We now return to Asia Minor.

The epitaph of Julius Eugenius, bishop of Laodicea Combusta from about A.D. 315 till about A.D. 340 or later, was discovered in 1908.¹ Eugenius tells us that he had suffered many tortures in the Great Persecution, but had maintained the Christian faith, and had contrived to quit the Roman service on an occasion when Maximinus II had issued a decree that Christians in the army must sacrifice without the option of retiring from the service. This decree (he says) was issued while Valerius Diogenes was governor of Pisidia ; Diogenes is known from other inscriptions, and the mention of him dates the beginning of Eugenius' episcopate within a year or two of A.D. 315.

¹ See *J.R.S.* 1920, p. 42 ff. ; *Anatolian Studies pres. to Ramsay*, p. 70 ff.

He had been bishop of Laodicea for twenty-five years when he dedicated his sarcophagus, about A.D. 340. How long he lived after this date we cannot tell. This is the only accurately dated inscription so far found in eastern Phrygia, and a study of its language and contents, and of the monument on which it is engraved, has thrown much light on the chronology of the undated Christian monuments of this area. One detail recorded by Eugenius is very significant ; his main concern during his episcopate was to *rebuild* the church of Laodicea *from its foundations*. This is the first direct information which has come down to us regarding the sufferings of the Christians of Laodicea in the Great Persecution. The church had been destroyed in the Persecution ; what had been the fate of Eugenius' predecessor in the episcopal chair ?

This question was answered in 1911, when Ramsay and I found a second inscription mentioning bishop Eugenius, and his martyred predecessor bishop Severus.¹ This is the dedication, in five elegiac couplets, of a memorial chapel in which the relics of Severus and Eugenius were laid, towards the end of the fourth century. Severus is described as 'the glorious victor in the contest of the Heavenly Father.' Such language, at this period, was regularly used of a martyr. Eugenius tells us, in his epitaph, that he had suffered many tortures in the Persecution ; we are entitled to infer from the dedication of a memorial chapel to the two bishops that Severus had been put to death. Such a conclusion could not be drawn from such language universally, for the title 'martyr' was sometimes given to those who remained steadfast under torture, like Eugenius, or died broken in health by persecution, like Pope Pontianus. But in the present case the circumstances admit of no other interpretation.

While the names of martyrs, and references to memorial *martyria* abound in Christian inscriptions of the Byzantine period, it is well known that (apart from the Roman Catacombs) contemporary epigraphical records of martyrdom are exceedingly scarce. So far, if we except Laodicea Combusta, Asia Minor has produced at most three such inscriptions. Two of these are epitaphs, to be carefully distinguished from memorial dedications on *martyria* in which the relics of martyrs were deposited some time after their death. The first is

¹ *Anatolian Studies* pres. to Ramsay, p. 70 ff.

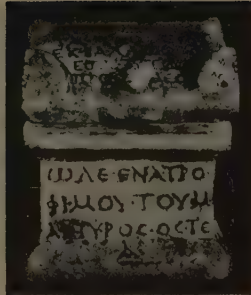
the following inscription from the Phrygian Pentapolis, published in CIG. 9266, but first explained by Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics*, ii. p. 730).

(a) Εἰρήνη τοῖς παράγουσιν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Μάρκου ὁ τῶν Ξάν[θ]ου ἀνέστησα εἵνεκα τῆς εἰστοργῆς [κα]ὶ το[ῦ] κάλλους γλυκύτατά μου τέκνα θε[ό]φιλα τειμητὰ ἐν ἱρήνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἔν[ε]κεν τούτου [ἔσ]τησα τὴν εἰ[σ]τί[λλ]ην χάριν μνήμης Εὐγενίῃ καὶ Μαρκέλλῃ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Μακεδόνι καὶ Νόννῃ τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις τέκνοις τοῖς ὑπὸ ἑνα κερὸν [ὀ]νη[θ]εῖσιν τὸ τῆς ζωῆς μέρος. ὃς ἂν δὲ π[ρ]οσκοῖνι ξένος τῷ τύμβῳ τούτῳ, ἄ[ωρ]α τέκνα ἔχωσι.

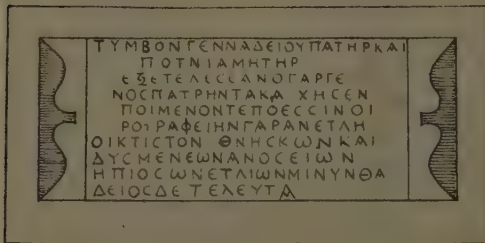
(b) Εἰς τήνδε (or εἰστὴν δὲ) τὸ ἡ[ρ]ῶ[ι]ον κοινὸν τῶν ἀδελ[φ]ῶν.

Ramsay has taken the five children mentioned in this epitaph as having 'won the portion of life in one day' to be the spiritual 'children' of the bishop of a city in the Pentapolis, who had suffered martyrdom together. The language of the inscription dates it in the third century, and Ramsay's hypothesis that it is the tombstone of five Phrygian martyrs who suffered under Decius or Diocletian has been accepted by several good authorities, and must be regarded as highly probable. Like the next instance which we shall quote, the names of Eugenia, Marcella, Alexander, Macedon and Nonna—if, indeed, they were martyrs—are unknown to the martyrologies.

The second inscription is the epitaph of a martyr called Paul found at Derbe, published, with a drawing of the monument, in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 60 ff. The form of the monument is that of the commonest type of tombstone in this neighbourhood, and there can be no doubt that Miss Ramsay is right in regarding it as a genuine tombstone, erected over the actual grave of the martyr. The inscription, which runs Νοῦννος καὶ Οὐαλέριος ἐκόσμησαν Παῦλον τὸν μάρτυραν μ(νήμης) χ(άριν), is of the ordinary Isaurian and south Lycaonian sepulchral type. This Paul was a martyr who suffered in the Great Persecution, and had his gravestone erected, probably by two priests, perhaps by two members of his family, immediately after the peace of the Church. Whatever was the case at Rome (and we have seen that the evidence of the underground Catacombs is doubtful) it is very unlikely that the Roman officials would have tolerated the open use of the term 'martyr' in a surface cemetery during the period of persecution. This tombstone must be dated after the close of Maximinus' persecution, or even after the defeat of Licinius in A.D. 323.



No. 1



No. 2.

[To face p. 357.]

In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the letter sent by the Church in Smyrna to the Church in Philomelium in or soon after A.D. 155, there is a sentence (§ 17) which proves that as early as the middle of the second century the Roman government had begun the practice of withholding the remains of martyrs from their fellow Christians. The reason given in the text of the letter, that the Roman officials wished to prevent the worship of the martyr, is doubtless the correct one. St. Augustine, at a later date, was at pains to explain that the cult of the martyrs had nothing in common with pagan worship of the dead. But in Asia Minor the worship of the dead was specially characteristic of the popular pagan religion, and the Romans had as clear a motive for objecting to the erection of Christian *Martyria* as Lord Kitchener had for destroying the tomb of a Sudanese Mahdi. This attitude on the part of the Roman officials no doubt explains the scarcity of identifiable martyrs' tombs even in parts of the Empire where Christianity was vigorous and influential. It also throws light on the circumstances under which relics of the martyr Trophimus of Pisidian Antioch, who suffered under the Emperor Probus in A.D. 281, were deposited in a reliquary coffer dug up by a Turkish peasant at Synnada in 1907, and now in the Museum at Brussa.¹ On the end of this little marble box (see Figure No. 1) shaped like a common local type of sarcophagus, is carved the inscription :

Ωδε · ἔνα · Τρο· -
 φί · μου · τοῦ · μ-
 ἄρ · τυ · ρος · ὁσ · τέ-
 · α ·

‘ Within are bones of Trophimus the martyr ; ’

and on the lid :

Τίς · ἂν · δὲ · ταῦ · -
 τα · τὰ · ὀστέα ·
 ἐκ · βιά · λη · πο · τὲ
 ἔσται · αὐτῷ
 πρὸς · τ[ὸ(ν)] Θεό-
 ν.

‘ And whoso shall ever cast out these bones, he shall have to reckon with God.’

¹ See Mendel and Grégoire in *Catalogue du Musée de Brousse*, p. 94 ff.

It is obvious that this coffer was not intended for open exhibition ; yet it is inscribed with the very formula by which the Christians of Phrygia, throughout the later third century, warned wrongdoers against interference with the tombs of their dead. The lettering also points to the third century, and the coffer appears certainly to belong to the period of persecution and is contemporary, or nearly contemporary with the death of Trophimus. Trophimus is known from the martyrologies, where he is said to have suffered with Sabazius and Dorymedon at Synnada on Sept. 19th, 281. The dedication of a public tomb to a martyr was precarious ; no doubt the fortunate discovery at Synnada illustrates a practice common during the persecutions, in spite of Roman vigilance.¹

We are now in a position to appreciate the veiled and non-committal language of a martyr's epitaph from the neighbourhood of Laodicea Combusta, which was partially published by Callander in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 175, but whose character first became clear with the recovery of the complete text in 1910. It belongs to the ancient site at Suwerek, which was probably a village on the territory of Laodicea Combusta when this inscription was engraved, and was raised to the rank of a bishopric (Psibela) at a later period. The inscription was copied by Callander in 1904 and by Ramsay in 1906 : but neither succeeded in deciphering the important third line. In 1910, our party was detained for two days at Suwerek, and I had ample time to study the text of this and other inscriptions. My reading of the third line was afterwards confirmed by Ramsay, and rests on our joint authority. See Figure No. 2.

Τύμβον Γενναδείου πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
ἐξετέλεσσαν· ὁ γὰρ γένος πάτρην τ' ἀκάχησεν·
ποιμέν' ὄντ' ἐπ' ὄρεσσιν· ὁ ἴρο[γ]ραφείην γὰρ ἀνέτλη
οἰκτιστον θνήσκων, καὶ δυσμενέων ἀνοσείων
ἥπιος ὢν, ἐταίων μινυνθάδειος δ' ἐτελεύτα.

‘The tomb of Gennadius his father and lady mother
constructed, for he grieved his family and native town,

¹ M. Mendel notes that the Turkish report sent to Brussa at the time of the discovery of this coffer mentions that ‘ossements de crâne’ were found with the coffer. The report does not say whether those bones were inside the box, which is too small to contain a complete skull.

being a pastor over the sheep ; ¹ for he endured (the prediction of) Holy Writ dying most piteously, and among impious foes being gentle, and in years short-lived he came to his end.'

At first sight ² this might pass for an ordinary pagan epitaph, belonging to the late-third or early-fourth century, and composed in the jerky and broken-winded hexameters common in this class of epitaph. But when we look closely into it, we find features which distinguish it sharply from pagan epitaphs. The word 'impious' applied to the 'foes' in contrast to whom Gennadius was so 'gentle' reminds us irresistibly of the Acts of the Martyrs, in which such language is very common. This would of itself suggest that Gennadius was a martyr ; the third line, now fully recovered, places the question beyond doubt. In this line, the expression 'pastor over the sheep' describes the office of Gennadius in terms which were consecrated in this sense from the earliest beginnings of Christianity ; and the obscurely compendious 'he endured Holy Writ,' whatever the exact meaning we attach to the words, describes the conduct of a martyr who was steadfast to the end.³ The close association between these words and 'dying most piteously' in the next line makes it certain that they refer to the martyrdom of Gennadius. They may mean either 'He (did not deny) Holy Scripture but endured (death),' or, more probably, as I have translated them, they are a condensed way of saying 'he endured the prediction of Holy Writ,' in which case this south Galatian epitaph contains a clear reference to the words addressed by Paul to the south Galatians in Acts xiv, 22 '*exhorting them to continue in the faith and that through many tribulations we must enter the*

¹ The accusative ποιμέν' ὄντ' depends on a verb like ἐκόσμησαν or ἀνέστησαν, implied in the first sentence.

² In what follows, I repeat much of what I wrote in reference to this inscription in *Discovery*, Nov. 1923, p. 300 f.

³ Professor H. Grégoire (whose high authority supports me in claiming this inscription as a martyr's epitaph) would read θηροτραφείην γὰρ ἀνέτλη ('il endura d'être livré en pâture aux bêtes'). *C. R. du V Congrès international des Sciences historiques*, 1923, p. 86. The same idea had occurred to me, but I prefer a known to an unknown word. The condensation ἱερογραφεῖην ἀνέτλη finds a close parallel in another Christian inscription of Phrygia: ἰς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώων ἐξὸν εἶναι τεθῆναι Ἀμμία καὶ Τατιανῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐὰν τηρήσωσι τὸν Θεόν, *Cities and Bishoprics*, II, p. 530, with which compare κὲ τηρῶν ἐντολὰς ἀθανάτων, *ibid.* p. 566.

Kingdom of God, or to the south Galatian Timothy (2 Tim. iii. 12) : 'Yea, and all that would live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.' Such obscurity of expression is familiar to students of the epigraphy of pre-Constantinian Christianity. During the centuries before Christianity became a legal religion, the Christians had perforce to avoid open profession of their religion on tombstones,¹ and had recourse to a veiled language. This obscurity of expression was both necessary and deliberate.

As regards the date of this inscription, I can feel no doubt that it belongs to the persecution under Maximinus II, which, as we have seen above, weighed heavily on the Christians of Laodicea. The design of the panel, and the lettering, are similar to those on the sarcophagus of Julius Eugenius,² although in this village epitaph the execution is not so careful. The sarcophagus of Eugenius was prepared about A.D. 340 ; the tombstone of Gennadius was dedicated a decade or two earlier, during the Persecution or immediately after it. That it was contemporary with the Persecution is clear from its veiled language ; in the inscriptions of Eugenius and of Severus, carved after the peace of the Church, Christianity is openly proclaimed. In the fourth century, as we have seen, the ancient settlement at Suwerek was a village, probably on the territory of Laodicea Combusta ; its inscriptions betray no trace of an independent city organisation. Gennadius was accordingly a presbyter, or at most a village-bishop (*chor-episcopus*) under Bishop Severus of Laodicea. Eugenius survived his torture ; Severus probably, and Gennadius certainly, 'won the victor's crown.' The Laodicean inscriptions thus remind the Church of three forgotten martyrs.

Neander, arguing from literary sources, and Ramsay, using the evidence of inscriptions, have both drawn the conclusion that Phrygia suffered but slightly in the earlier persecutions, but felt the full force of the massacres under Decius and especially under Diocletian and his associates. In the second and early third centuries persecution was usually instigated, and at times forced on an unwilling government, by the pagan population—or by the Jews ; under Decius and Diocletian it was engineered, as we have seen, by the government itself. The

¹ And even in private letters : see *Class. Rev.* 1924, p. 30 f.

² See *Klio* 1910, p. 232, and *J.R.S.* 1920, Plate I.

picture of Phrygian society which the inscriptions enable us to reconstruct explains both the comparative lightness of persecution in the earlier period, and its severity in the later.

It is a picture, as Ramsay has pointed out,¹ of accommodation and good feeling between the Christians and their pagan neighbours. On the negative side the orthodox Christians (I say 'orthodox' because some of the heretical bodies form an exception) avoided all parade of their religion which would give offence to pagan susceptibility; on the positive side they appear to have played an influential and patriotic part in the city life of the provinces. Under these conditions, the chief motive of the earlier type of persecution, popular ill-feeling against a body of men who were regarded in the Roman Empire generally as anti-social and unpatriotic, was largely absent in Phrygia; under these conditions we can understand why the later type of persecution fall with especial fury on the Phrygian cities. Diocletian's policy was war on the Church as such, and good strategy demanded that he should attack the enemy in his strongest positions. It is clear that by the end of the third century many parts of Phrygia were almost solidly Christian. Hence the severity of the Great Persecution in this area.

These are considerations of a general character. But there were special conditions in Phrygia, and especially in the rural districts of eastern Phrygia, which accentuated the severity of the persecution. In this area most of the land was in the private possession of the Roman Emperors, and we have already pointed out traces of the activity of the anti-Christian associations on the Imperial estates in Phrygia. It is perhaps not without significance that Laodicea Combusta, whose inscriptions, as we have seen, preserve a unique record of the sufferings of its inhabitants in the Great Persecution, lay close to an Imperial estate, and that the bureau from which the estate was managed was located in the city.

A further consideration which must be borne in mind is the strength in Phrygia of a type of Christianity which actually courted persecution; and we may hazard the guess that many of the martyrs, both of the earlier and of the later period, represented this type. Phrygia was the home of Montanism; and I have already attempted, in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*,² to reconstruct the

¹ *Cities and Bishoprics*, II, p. 502 ff.

² 1923, p. 309 ff.

local history of this Phrygian movement. The Montanists, as readers of Tertullian will remember, insisted on open profession of Christianity even at the risk of martyrdom; and on their tombstones in Phrygia they carried this principle into practice. And here again local information from Laodicea Combusta allows us to guess at one of the causes of the trials which the local Christians had to undergo. The inscriptions show us that this city was deeply affected by sectarianism of the Montanist-Novatian type in the later fourth century, and the dedication to bishop Severus itself informs us that the church over which he presided was unorthodox. I have discussed these inscriptions elsewhere,¹ and have shown that the 'Burnt Phrygia' which Epiphanius mentions as a nest of heresies and a centre of the Pisidian Encratites was no other than Laodicea Combusta. The Encratites shared with the Montanists and Novatians a stern attitude to those who 'lapsed' in the persecutions, and communities of these sectarians must have presented a specially tempting target to the organisers of persecution.

I will round off this discursive discourse with a speculation.

Eusebius and Lactantius both refer to a Christian town in Phrygia—neither gives its name—which was destroyed, with its whole population, in the Great Persecution.² Eusebius adds the poignant detail that these Christians perished in the flames 'calling upon the God who is over all.' Ramsay has published an ingenious argument³ identifying this town with Eumeneia or with Attanassus, whose inscriptions give evidence of a thriving Christianity throughout the third century, and suddenly cease at the end of it. But the same is true (in a less marked degree) of other Phrygian towns; and, if the degree is less marked, that may only be because the preservation or loss of inscriptions in Phrygian cities has depended on accidental circumstances

¹ *Anatolian Studies* pres. to Ramsay, p. 67 ff.

² Eusebius, *H.E.* viii. 11, ἡδὴ γοῦν ὅλην Χριστιανῶν πολίχνην αὐτανδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλόντες ὀπλῖται πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες κατέφλεξαν αὐτοὺς ἅμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν ἐπιβοωμένους. Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* v. 11, sicut unus in Phrygia qui uniuersum populum cum ipso pariter conuenticulo concremauit. Both accounts obviously refer to the same incident, but the language of Lactantius leaves it doubtful whether he is thinking of a city population or only of a congregation.

³ *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 505 ff.

—it is not always safe to base conclusions on the relative frequency of inscriptions belonging to different places and periods. Moreover, Eumeneia (as Ramsay has shown), was a typical orthodox town, and if an orthodox town had distinguished itself in this manner in the Great Persecution it is unlikely that so good a catholic as Eusebius would have withheld its name. The silence of Eusebius on this point, combined with the details which he gives of this frightful massacre, appears to me to point to a community of Montanist fanatics; and I would point out that Pepouza, in which a section of the Montanists awaited the coming of the Great Persecution and the Descent of the New Jerusalem foretold in the Apocalypse has, in fact, disappeared without leaving a trace. Can this be the true explanation of Epiphanius' reference to Pepouza: '(The Montanists) honour a deserted place in Phrygia, formerly a city called Pepouza, *but now levelled with the ground*, and they assert that the New Jerusalem descends there'?¹ The heretic Aëtius, we know, was banished to Pepouza (if that is the correct form of 'Petousa' which we read in the text of Philostorgius),² in A.D. 356, and it has been argued that this disproves the statement of Epiphanius, who wrote in A.D. 375. But may we not rather enjoy the grim humour displayed in the choice of a place of exile?³ The interesting detail recorded by Eusebius, that these Christians died 'calling upon the God who is over all,' may then be referred to a context which exactly suits the Montanists. I refer to the prophecy of Joel, quoted in Acts ii. 17-21:

*And it shall be in the last days, saith God,
I will pour forth my spirit upon all flesh,
And your sons and your daughters shall prophecy,
And your young men shall see visions
And your old men shall dream dreams. . . .
And I will show wonders in the heaven above,
And signs in the earth beneath
Blood and fire and vapour of smoke. . . .
And it shall be that whosoever shall call on the name
Of the Lord shall be saved.*

¹ *Haer.* xlviii. 14, τιμῶσι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ τόπον τινα ἔρημον ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ, Πέπουζάν ποτε καλουμένην πόλιν, νῦν δὲ ἡδαφισμένην, καὶ φασιν ἐκεῖσε κατιέναι τὴν ἄνωθεν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

² *H.E.* iv. 8 (Bidez, p. 62).

³ The bones of Montanus were honoured in Pepouza till A.D. 550; see Holl, *Epiphanius* (*Anc. u. Pan.*), ii. p. 239.

The faith of the Montanists was founded on their belief in the literalness of the prophecy in the Apocalypse, which foretold that a Great Persecution would precede the Second Advent. A community of these sectarians, when the Great Persecution actually came, would be unlikely to forget the prophecy of Joel.¹ Eusebius suppresses the name of the town which was destroyed in the Persecution; Epiphanius is silent regarding the circumstances under which Pepouza was 'levelled with the ground.' Neither Eusebius nor Epiphanius had much sympathy either with Montanism or with scientific history; between the lines of their narratives I am inclined to read the fate which overtook the New Jerusalem of the Montanists in the Great Persecution.

Can a similar faith, and a similar prejudice, be invoked to explain why the Christian martyrs who are gradually being restored to History by the inscriptions of eastern Phrygia are unknown to the Calendar of the Church? The Calendar has found a place for Perpetua and Felicitas, the Montanist martyrs of Africa, and a recent historian has explained that after all these ladies were 'Church Montanists.'² Perhaps one day, in retrospective homage to Christian reunion, the Calendar—and the historians—may rise to even greater heights of catholicity.

¹ Eusebius has substituted ἐπιβοᾶσθαι for ἐπικαλεῖσθαι in LXX. and Acts.

² See B. J. Kidd, *History of the Church to A.D. 461*, I, p. 286.

UNDER HANNIBAL'S SHADOW.¹

BY PROF. R. S. CONWAY, LITT.D., D.LITT., Dott. Univ., F.B.A.

FEW of us, I think, can be too young, and certainly none of us are too old, to be able look back on the four years of the war as an experience standing by itself, sharply marked off from the rest of our lives. And one of the ways in which it differs, probably, from any other four years through which we have passed is that we have comparatively clear conceptions of what then happened to us as a nation.

Even now it may be that the chronological order of some things is fading from memory ; but the great events and sufferings of the period are still present in our minds and still among the things which help to shape our political judgment. Probably never before those four years had we possessed in our own experience anything that we could call knowledge of what our nation was ; and what conceptions we had attached to the names of foreign nations were even more vague or fragmentary. But under the shocks and stress of the war every one of us became conscious of the larger organism of which he was a part. As a nation we found ourselves, and we have not yet ceased to be self-conscious. Most of us indeed have fallen into the habit of connecting in our own minds many of the details of our daily experience with this new consciousness which has been forced upon us. It has chanced that since then one of my own duties has been to study Livy's record of the long struggle between Rome and Carthage some twenty-one centuries ago. That contest, which lasted sixteen years, shows certain features not without parallels in our own shorter ordeal. Both likenesses and differences may be worth our notice ; especially if they can help us at all towards building up that more true and just and enduring conception of national life, indeed of civilised life as a whole, which is what we all earnestly, even though unconsciously, desire to

¹ A lecture delivered at the Library on Wednesday, 10 October, 1923.

reach, when we ponder on the war and its issues. Most of us, it is true, are rather shy of moralising in public :—and though such temptations are supposed to be especially ensnaring to Professors, I will try to escape them by the old Cambridge habit of sticking closely to my text, I mean to the stories which Livy tells us, and by leaving them to suggest their own moral.

The period represented by the title of this lecture is one of twelve years¹ during which Hannibal with his army was in Italy, a standing danger to the power, and sometimes even to the existence, of Rome. The three preceding years had been marked by the great disasters of the Trebia, Lake Trasimene and Cannae which are familiar to all students of history. Hannibal had three times wiped out great Roman armies, and after the last defeat, that of Cannae, in 216 B.C., men said despairingly in Rome that there was no Roman camp left in Italy, no Roman army and no Roman General. Certainly for several weeks there was no Roman army there except the garrison of Rome itself. Twelve years later we find Hannibal still unconquered but recalled by his own Government to defend Carthage against Scipio who had crossed to Africa, had won various victories over the Carthaginian generals, and who was to crown these victories in the following year (202) by the defeat of Hannibal himself at the battle of Zama.

My purpose is not to trace the whole chequered story of the Roman recovery ; but rather to direct attention to a few smaller incidents rarely mentioned by modern historians, some of which may give us more intimate knowledge of the conduct and feeling of the Roman people itself during these years, and enable us to compare it with our experience in our own years of trial.

Of course, in some sense, all wars are alike ; both sides have always things to suffer, both sides prove themselves capable of some barbarous and some noble deeds. Difficulties of supply and transport, and failures through the incompetence of commanders are certain to be heard of in any long war, and upon such matters we need not dwell. We may, however, note in passing among these more external resemblances that at the outset and long after, both we and the Romans had to contend with generalship vastly superior to anything we could find

¹ 215-203 B.C.

for ourselves ; that both we and the Romans had great difficulty in securing an adequate supply of munitions ; that the armies of both were multiplied many times ; and both took extraordinary measures for meeting the financial strain. But some of our more intimate troubles too, are not without their ancient analogues. We shall note in these twelve years the interference of political rivalries at home with the conduct of war in the field, such as partisan attacks on particular generals ; troubles with objectors to military service ; troubles with allies of doubtful loyalty ; and there were remarkable reactions from the strain, not merely in the political but also in the religious life of the community.

Note first for convenience three dates which divide the period into four parts. Immediately after Cannae in 216 B.C., the powerful city of Capua, wealthier even than Rome, threw in its lot with Hannibal. The first part of our period runs from 216 to 211 B.C., the year in which Hannibal made a dash upon Rome, though when he got there he did not venture to attack it—so strongly was the City fortified— ; in which the two elder Scipios were defeated and killed in Spain, so that what remained of two Roman armies there was without a commander ; and in which, on the other hand, Capua, after a long siege which Hannibal found himself unable to break, surrendered to the Romans and was absolutely destroyed. These are the great events of 211. The next date is 207 B.C. when Hasdrubal, bringing a great army from Spain to reinforce his brother Hannibal, was defeated and slain at the river Metaurus. Finally, when the younger Scipio had crossed to Africa in 204, Hannibal was constrained to follow him in the following year. These dates will provide enough framework to carry a few pictures chosen from Livy's story.

In choosing them I have been mainly guided by the wish to ascertain as nearly as we can what the Romans were actually thinking and feeling : and especially to trace the instinct which seemed to guide them even in the worst moments of doubt. Some aspects of this inner life appear in incidents which Livy felt to be characteristic of the time. In a former lecture, we found that this historian, however little he cared for precision in detail or statistics for their own sake, had a singular insight into the characters of individual men and a singular power of portraying what he saw. Not less, we shall realise, I hope, from the passages now to be examined, that there stood in his

imagination, more clearly cut even than the portrait of any one man, the figure of the Roman nation, with its weaknesses and follies, and its nobleness and strength, grown into a living whole. And even if I fail to convey to others the sense that Livy has impressed on me of this almost personal being, we shall in any case have seen something of human motive and human courage in one of the most striking epochs of the story of Europe.

We start from a position which seemed one of despair. In the battle of Cannae, the third of three great defeats, the Romans had lost over 48,000 slain and some 5000 prisoners, the total approaching five-sixths of the forces with which they began the war. Two Consular armies had disappeared. The profound anxiety of the Romans appears vividly in their religious proceedings. In his history of Roman Religious Experience,¹ Dr. Warde Fowler has pointed out the effect of the disasters in popular psychology. The gods whom the State had worshipped with punctual care, and who had brought Rome, so its citizens felt, through centuries of danger to the headship of all Italy and to the mastery of the seas around it, these gods seemed now to have changed their divine minds. How else could they suffer their worshippers to fall into so great calamity?

Throughout the period two feelings prevailed, apparently in sharp contradiction, but springing from the same root. First, a feverish desire to secure the favour of their old gods by any and every method that could be suggested, a fear which led men to look hungrily for every indication of the Will of Heaven in the customary channels of omens, prophecy and divination; and side by side with this desire, a continual doubt of the efficacy of the old ways, and a search for newer and more powerful divine protectors, from whatever source the knowledge of them might be drawn. The professional exponents of established religion were quite hard worked; always called upon to produce some religious explanation of the appalling things that were happening, and to devise some new ceremonial which might impress men's imagination with a sense of duty performed and so renew their confidence in heaven. Livy makes clear what he thought himself of this whole business of prodigies and portents; but he makes not less clear, and this is where his insight is deeper than that of some modern writers, how indispensable to the popular mind of that century this religion was.

¹ Ch. XIV.

After the battle of Trasimene in 217 the College of Pontiffs produced long lists of ritual duties which had been insufficiently performed ; and from one of their sacred documents which was not merely open to convenient interpolation but offered great latitude when it came to be interpreted, the Sybilline Books, they ordered what was called a Sacred Spring, that is a vow payable five years hence by the whole community ; which promised to offer to Jupiter every head of sheep and swine, goats and kine that was born in that fifth spring, if the Roman state survived so long. After Cannae in 216 their despair took ¹ a more sombre form, especially when it appeared that the vestal virgins of the year had polluted their office.

Besides these great adversities, men were put in fear with sundry prodigious tokens : and among others, in that one year, two vestal virgins, Opimia and Floronia, were detected of manifest unchastity : the one of them was buried alive, as the manner was, under the ground at the Colline Gate ; the other killed herself.

The man who had committed the fault with Floronia, was by the chiefe Priest so beaten with rods in the Comitium, that he died under his hand. This heinous offence falling out among so many calamities, was reckoned, as usually it is, for a portentous sign ; and therefore the Decemvirs were commanded to search the Sibylline Books. And Fabius Pictor was sent to Delphi, to consult with the Oracle of Apollo, and to learn by what prayers and offerings they might pacify the gods, and what would be the end of so great and fearful miseries. In the meanwhile, out of the learning contained in those Books of Destiny, there were performed certain extraordinary sacrifices : among which a Gaul together with a Gallic woman ; likewise a Grecian man and woman, were let down alive in the Beast market and shut into a vault under the ground, stoned all about : a place aforetime embued and polluted with the blood of mankind sacrificed, a rite most unnatural to the religion of the Romans. When they had sufficiently (as they thought) pacified the gods—

they turned to matters of war, so Livy concludes.—Note his phrase “as they thought ;” and his disgust at the barbarous use of human sacrifice. *Tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum*, when the whole community was acting under stress of fear.

Every year we find a set of prodigies recorded and expiated at great cost ; as Livy tells us ² the demand created the supply : “the

¹ 22. 57. 6. In this lecture as in others my renderings are based on the Elizabethan version of Philemon Holland.

² 24. 10. 6. quae quo magis credebant simplices ac religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur.

more that people believed in the prodigies the more prodigies were announced." Take a part of one¹ of these lists (in 207 B.C.):

Before the Consuls went forth there was a nine-days sacrifice celebrated, because at Veii it had rained stones from heaven. And after one prodigious sight was once minded and spoken of, there were (as it is commonly seen) others also reported: namely, that in Minturnae the temple of Jupiter, and the sacred grove of Marcia were smitten with lightning; and at Atellae the wall and gate. The men of Minturnae spake also of a more fearful thing, to wit, that there ran a river of blood in their very gate. Last of all, at Capua² a wolf entered the gate at night, and worried and dismembered one of the watchmen.

These wonderful signs were expiated with sacrificing greater beasts, and a supplication was holden for one day, by virtue of a decree from the Pontiffs. . . . And men's minds were no sooner freed of one religious scruple, but they were troubled again with another. For word was brought, that at Frusino there was an infant born, as big as ordinary a child is at four years of age. And the thing was not so strange for bigness, as for that it was born doubtful, whether it were male or female. The wizards that were sent for out of Etruria said that this was a foul monster, and that it should be had forth of the dominion of Rome, and drowned in the deep, so as it might touch no ground. Whereupon they put it alive in a coffer, and when they had carried it a good way into the sea, they flung it in. Moreover the Pontiffs made a decree that certain virgins in three companies, nine apiece, should go through the city and sing certain canticles.

In one passage³ Livy cannot conceal his scorn for "the degraded superstition which thrusts the gods into connexion with the most trivial occurrence," such as the fact that some mice had injured the gilding of a particular image; and yet immediately afterwards he points out that the subsequent defeat and death of Marcellus in that year (208) was, in the popular mind, connected with these same portents.

Of the various elements which were brought in to reinforce, as men supposed, the waning power of the old City gods, the most conspicuous were the increased attention paid to Apollo⁴ and the worship of the Great Mother who was supposed to be somehow contained in a meteoric stone which was brought with great pomp from Asia Minor

¹ 27. 37.

² By Capua now is meant only the shadow of what before 211 had been a great city; now there was only *tanquam urbs, aliqua aratorum sedes* (26. 16. 7-8). The wolves had realised the difference.

³ 27. 23. 4.

⁴ The Ludi Apollinares were established in 212 B.C.

in 205 B.C. and installed in a Temple at Rome,—all in accordance with instructions by the Pontiffs. Of more private, though widespread, innovations, the worship of Bacchus, which thirty years later¹ we find all over Italy, is the most striking example. It is clear, as Dr. Warde Fowler has pointed out, that the old city-religion never recovered from the shock of the war; and that with this loosening of the bonds of primitive superstition, there began a more liberal attitude towards the idea of deity in general. It is natural to compare such effects with the new temper of which most of us are conscious here and now in many of our straiter forms of dogma or sect; for these in their turn have been shaken by the war of our own day. We all know how denominational barriers have shrunk and crumbled since 1914; and a learned friend of mine who is wont to seek occasional diversion in the correspondence columns of (what used to be called) the evangelical weeklies represented to me the change of feeling which he noted about serious matters in a characteristic way. He had found, he said, a number of high authorities to be unanimous in the view that new instructions had been issued to St. Peter; in the case of those who fell in the war, at all events on the side of the Allies, passport-formalities at the Golden Gate were completely suspended. The truth is that there are some kinds of dogma which may maintain themselves in ordinary times but which collapse under stress of some natural feeling strongly stirred in the whole community. Hard and fast doctrines about the future life, preached from scores of pulpits fifty years ago, suddenly broke like bubbles when every other home was mourning a father or a son.

Now it was far from an accident that the noble family or group of noble families which made the Scipionic Circle and which was left by the war in a position of unmistakable leadership in Roman society, was also enthusiastic for Greek culture and with it for the study of Greek philosophy. After the Punic War we find the poet Ennius and (a little later) Terence, each in his own way devoted to the task of spreading Greek ideas, working under the protection of the Scipios; and a generation later Scipio Aemilianus, the friend of Polybius, was also closely associated with the famous² Stoic Panaetius. Through

¹ See the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 B.C.; Livy, 39. 8-19.

² Cic. *Ac.* II. 2. 5.

the influence of this circle and of other men like-minded, there came into Rome not merely the fresh current of Greek analysis and enquiry, steadily dissolving the older civic religion, but also the teachings of the most active Greek philosophy of the century, namely Stoicism. And in Stoicism, as has so often been pointed out,¹ lay the main current of progress for the human spirit, a current which two centuries later was mingled in the deeper tide of Christianity. However distressing therefore the process of disillusion which began in the Punic War might and did appear to high-minded onlookers at the time, there can be no doubt that it contributed something to the humanising of Europe.

But if the calamities of the war, especially in its first three years, so deeply overthrew the old confidence of the Roman people, how did they recover it? What was it that in the end won them the victory over Hannibal, a greater general than any they had known? No one will suggest that it was the military prowess of any one man, deeply as they were indebted to the caution of Fabius and the more brilliant gifts of Scipio, to mention only these. Both great men failed seriously more than once; and neither of them could have had a chance of mending his country's fortunes but for the conditions through which they were chosen and by which in the long run they were supported. If the answer is to be put into a single phrase it can only be this—the victory was won by the genius and the character of the Roman people. It has not been quite fully realised how frequently in crises of the war individual judgment failed completely but the Roman popular instinct made a right decision. If ever a war was won by a nation and not by a single man, it was the war against Hannibal.

Take for instance the fundamental problem of finance. Judge from a single scene (in 215 B.C.) the way² in which this part of the burden was borne.

But as the number of them that paid taxes was greatly diminished by so great overthrows of the armies, so those few that remained, if they were to be burdened with exactions many times increased, would be plagued and ruined another way, therefore it was concluded that unless the Commonweal were supported by credit, she could not sustain herself by her own wealth. So it was agreed, that Fulvius the Praetor must assemble all the people together and declare unto them the

¹ See Prof. E. V. Arnold's *Stoicism at Rome*, p. 20, footnote.

² 23. 48. 9.

necessity that the Commonweal was driven into; and must exhort all them that had enriched themselves by taking the contracts issued by the State, that they should now make a present of a period of time to the Commonweal; for it was out of the Commonweal that they were grown to their present riches; and that they should undertake to furnish the armie in Spaine with all the supplies which it now needed, on condition that they be paid therefor first of all creditors out of the common chest, when it should be again stored with money. Thus the Praetor made declaration of these matters in the open assembly of the people, and withal appointed a certain day, whereupon he minded to put forth the contracts for the soldiers' clothing and corn to be provided for the Spanish army, and all the other things now requisite for the fleet. When the day was come, there presented themselves unto him three companies of nineteen men, purposing to take these contracts, making only two requests, the one that while they were engaged in this public service, they should be exempt from service in the army; the other that whatsoever they shipped, should be transported at the risk of the Commonweal against all enemy force or violence of tempest. Both these requests being granted, they took upon them the matter, and so the Commonweal was served, by the money of private persons.

You will observe there is no hint of any five per cent. or six per cent. interest to be paid on the sums they thus advanced. Patriotism had not become a profitable private investment.

Notice next a few cases of the wisdom shown by various commanders not of the first rank, men whose names scarcely appear in history at all.

An incident (reminding one rather of our troubles with the "Black and Tans") in which the dangers of the use of irregular forces were happily forestalled, is recorded of the year 210 B.C. when by the capture of Agrigentum (following on that of Syracuse), the island of Sicily was finally reduced to peace. During the war the different communities of the island had taken different sides and nearly every town had been fighting with its neighbour. The Roman governor, Laevinus by name, saw that it was urgently necessary to encourage these communities to resume their proper work of growing corn, and that not for their own sake merely, but to produce food for Rome. During the hostilities a band of nondescript ruffians, 4000 strong, most of whom, as Livy briefly puts it,¹ "had committed capital crimes both when they lived in their own states and afterwards," had been of much use on the Roman side; but their way of living, "by brigandage and plunder"

¹ 26. 40. 17.

was a thorn in the side of any peaceful community. Laevinus did not feel equal, while the war lasted, to the task of reforming their morals ; but they must be got out of Sicily ; so he put them all on ship-board and transported them to Rhegium, a Roman colony much distressed by the nearness of Hannibal's army and the hostility of the half-barbarous Bruttians all round them, who had taken Hannibal's side. The 4000 irregulars were likely, says Livy, to be " very serviceable to the men of Rhegium who needed a force used to brigandage " for harrying the land of the Bruttians.

In the year 208 B.C. when the doughty Marcellus was defeated¹ and killed through his own imprudence in a reconnoitre, his body came into Hannibal's possession. His colleague Crispinus also had received a serious wound in the engagement, from which he died a month or two later ; but he had enough foresight to send round to all the neighbouring towns a warning that Marcellus was dead, and that Hannibal was in possession of his ring with its seal : and that therefore if they received any letters purporting to be sealed by Marcellus they might know at once that they were forged by Hannibal. So he brought it about that Hannibal suffered a considerable defeat instead of securing possession of the town of Salapia. In fact he was forced to retreat to the Southern extremity of Italy near Locri, whence he was afterwards able to emerge only for short spaces of time.

But perhaps the most striking case of soldierly judgment in a commander on the second line, is the way in which a member of the great Sempronian family, an ancestor of the Gracchi, dealt with an army of what the Romans called volunteers ; that is to say, of men who enlisted as slaves in the hope of earning their freedom. The enrolling of such men was always regarded as a desperate expedient, but after Cannae age-limits and all others had to go. Sempronius, after more than a year of training decided to venture on a battle.

"Now," said Sempronius² "the time has come of acquiring the liberty which so long you have hoped for. To-morrow you are to confront your enemies with banner displayed, and to fight in a plain and open ground, where without fear of any ambush, the trial may be made with valour. Whosoever therefore can bring me the head of an enemy, him my pleasure is to make free immediately : but whosoever giveth ground and turneth back, on him will I do justice as on a bond-

¹ 27. 28.

² 24. 14. 6 (214 B.C.).

slave.¹ Now every man hath his future condition lying in his own hands: for the promise is not mine only but that of Marcellus the consul and ratified by all the Senate."

If we may accept the story as it stands—and there are reasons against supposing it to be a fiction—this somewhat primitive method of proving one's valour, to produce an enemy's head, turned out to be highly inconvenient. Sempronius soon corrected his mistake and ordered the heads of slain enemies to be left as they were; adding that if the battle was won, he would enfranchise his whole army without distinction.

But when they were returned laden with booty into the campe, they found there were almost 4000 of the voluntary soldiers who had fought but faintly, and had not broken into the enemy's camp with the rest; these for fear of punishment had seized a little hill not far from the camp, and there remained. But the morrow after, being brought away from thence by their commanders they arrived again at the camp, just when Gracchus had summoned his soldiers to an assembly. There, after Gracchus had first rewarded his old soldiers with military gifts each according to his good service in that battle, then, as concerning the slave-volunteers he said this much: that he had rather they were all commended by him, good and bad one with another, than that one of them that day should taste of any punishment: and therefore he pronounced them all free to the benefit, happiness, and felicity, both of the Common-weal, and of themselves. At this word, they lifted up their voices aloud with exceeding cheerfulness first congratulating and embracing one another, then lifting their hands on high and praying of the gods all good blessings for the people of Rome, and especially for Gracchus. "Then" (quoth Gracchus) "before I had made you all alike free, I would not set upon any of you, either the mark of a stout soldier, or that of a coward. But now I have discharged the promise made to you by the Common-weal; and for fear lest the difference between prowess and cowardice should be forgotten, I will take express order that the names of all of those, whose conscience accuses them of avoiding the hazard of battle, and who erewhile withdrew themselves apart, be brought to me; they shall be called forth every one by name, and I will compel them to take an oath that (unless it be for sickness) so long as they shall continue in soldiery, they will neither eat nor drink but standing upon their feet. And this punishment (I am sure) ye will willingly take in good part,—if ye consider better of it and see that ye could not have had any lighter mark of shame for your cowardly service."

By this judicious (and humorous) compromise he strengthened the

discipline of his army, and at the same time secured the gratitude of all the volunteers by fully discharging his pledge.

In some cases it was men of the rank and file merely whose loyalty or insight proved decisive. In 207 B.C. a foraging party of Roman privates caught a body of six horsemen (four Gauls and two Numidians), who were carrying the famous despatch from Hasdrubal announcing his arrival in Italy to his brother Hannibal. These foragers took their prisoners to their commander who handled them straitly and got from them the despatch, which without unsealing he sent at once to the Consul Claudius who was in command in the South. This incident, as we know, was the real turning point of the war, because it enabled Claudius to make his famous forced march to join his colleague Livius on the Metaurus and with this doubled army to defeat Hasdrubal.

Or, again, how was Tarentum a town and harbour of vital importance, won back for the Romans? By the act of a private soldier¹ in the army of Fabius. This soldier learnt from his sister who was in the town that she was being honoured by the attentions of the commander of the Bruttian garrison which was keeping the town for Hannibal. The private soldier at once saw a chance of turning this news to good account. By means of this sister the soldier, whose name even is not recorded, was introduced to the Bruttian commander and persuaded him to betray the town to the Romans.

But the most striking case² of a private soldier's action was after the overwhelming defeat of the two older Scipios in Spain in the year 212. Both commanders had fallen and their armies were reduced to fragments. The survivors of one of the armies were collected by a young cavalry trooper called Marcius, who succeeded not only in fortifying a camp, but in uniting all the remnants of both armies. Chosen commander by the soldiers themselves, he inflicted a serious defeat on the Carthaginians, taking one of their camps and keeping the Roman cause safe until in response to a despatch from him to the Senate a new commander arrived.

But these individual achievements, however striking, are less instructive than the cases in which the courage and wisdom of the community as a whole somehow prevailed over personal or partisan failings in their leaders.

¹ 27. 15. 9.

² 25. 37.

In the year after Cannae the first of the thirty tribes called on to vote for new consuls had nominated two men of whom one was practically untried in the field and the other had been tried and proved to be more or less incompetent. Livy records a speech¹ in which the old Dictator Fabius talks to the people like a father, warning them that this is no time for experiments; they must choose the best Consuls they can get; so the tribe humbly went back and voted again, and all the tribes followed its example in choosing now the Dictator himself as one of the two Consuls. Incidentally we note the neglect of precedent by appointing to a Consulship the man who was actually holding the election; but constitutional precedents in war time were things that the Romans knew how to deal with.

Again a few years later we hear² of a spiteful attack on Marcellus; some tribune recounted to the people his mistakes, which had, in fact, been grave enough; but Marcellus stood up before them and set forth the much longer list of his successes; so they made him Consul again.

A more important case³ in which the common goodwill prevailed over private bitterness was in the election of Livius in 208 B.C. for the Consulship of the following year. Livius had been Consul some years before and after the end of his office had been accused before the people of some real or supposed breach of duty and condemned to a fine. This he had taken bitterly to heart; he retired into private life far from Rome and lived on his farm for eight years. His friends in the Senate had with difficulty persuaded him to come back, and now the majority of the Senate were eager that he should be made Consul.

The only man in the whole city that opposed this, was Livius himself, to whom this dignity was being offered. He blamed the levity and inconstancy of the people: saying, that they had had no pity of him when it was needed,—namely, while he was in question and was wearing the garments proper to an accused man; but now against his will, they offered him the white robe of a candidate for the Consulship. Thus (quoth he) they punish, thus they honour the same persons. If they took me for a good and honest man, why condemned they me, as they did, for a guilty one? If they found me in fault, what cause have they to trust me with a second Consulship, who used the former so badly? As he argued in this wise, the Senate reproved him:

¹ 24. 8.

² 27. 21.

³ 27. 34.

"Like as the curstness and rigour of parents is to be mollified by patience on their children's part, even so the hard dealing of a man's country is to be mitigated by patience and sufferance."

So Livius gave way, and consented¹ further, at the entreaty of the Senate, to lay aside, during his term of office, his old personal quarrel with his colleague Claudius. The soundness of the people's judgment was signally vindicated by the victory which these two consuls together won over Hasdrubal at the Metaurus in the following year. When one reads this story, and compares it with the sorry record of the Committee² in 1915 which decided on the tragic adventure of Gallipoli, it is impossible not to wonder whether that calamity need have happened if the animosities of individual politicians and commanders could have been controlled by public opinion in England as they were in ancient Rome.

But perhaps the most striking case in which the popular instinct prevailed over personal jealousies, was in the critical moment, in 205 B.C., when it was determined whether or not young Scipio Africanus, after his triumphant expulsion of the enemy from Spain—a process which had taken six years to accomplish—was to be allowed to cross into Africa to attack them in their nest. Scipio was determined to go, and he had let it be understood that if the Senate failed to give him the commission, he meant to carry it over the Senate's head by a vote of the popular assembly. Such a precedent would have been a disaster to the Senate, in fact it would have anticipated the fall of the constitution by nearly a century.

How was it settled?

The Tribunes of the people intervened with one of those transparent but valuable shams in which politicians take delight; the right thing is done; but done in such a way that to the defeated party is given the privilege of stating loudly that it has triumphed!

The Tribunes persuaded the Senate that it must give way; and they persuaded Scipio to leave the matter to the Senate. Scipio therefore withdrew his threat; but the result was that he was sent to govern Sicily with permission to cross into Africa if he wished.

¹ 27. 35. 6.

² See the Blue Book Cd. 8490, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Dardanelles Expedition*, 1917.

Lastly let me give you Livy's account of two examples of statesmanship not connected with the names of any individuals but springing straight from the instinct of the community. They concerned two difficulties strangely parallel to two which we also had to face. The first¹ is the way in which in 209 B.C. the Romans handled what was practically the revolt of twelve out of their thirty colonies, that is the communities of Latin citizens in different parts of Italy to which they always looked for loyal support. Envoys from these twelve colonies complained bitterly of the length of time during which many of their citizens had been kept at the front, and flatly refused to supply any more men.

The Consuls, amazed at this unexpected turn, being desirous to deter the disaffected colonies from so detestable a resolution, supposed they would prevail more by chastising and rebuke, than by gentle dealing: and therefore they replied to the deputies that they had presumed to say unto the Consuls what the Consuls could not find in their hearts to deliver in the Senate House. For this was not a mere refusal of war-service, but no better than an open revolt from the people of Rome. Therefore they were best to return again speedily into their several colonies, and consult with their neighbours and countrymen, as though nothing at all had been said. . . . When the Consuls had dealt with them a long time in this manner, the envoys, nothing moved with their words, made answer again. That neither they knew what message to take home; nor would their town-councils know what new resolution to take; since they had not any more men to be mustered for soldiers, nor money to provide for their pay. The Consuls seeing them so stiffly and obstinately bent, made report thereof to the Senate. Whereupon every man was stricken into so great trouble of mind, that many of them declared that the empire of Rome was come to an end. The like, said they, the rest of the Colonies will do: all our confederates and allies are combined to betray the city of Rome unto Hannibal. But the Consuls comforted the Senate, and bade them be of good cheer, saying, that all the other eighteen colonies would continue loyal and fast in their duty. . . . Upon the aid² of these eighteen colonies, the Roman state at this time rested and stood; and these all were highly thanked both in the Senate, and in the assembly of the people. As for the other twelve colonies which had refused to do their obedience, the Senate gave express command that they should not be so much as once named: and that the Consuls should neither give them their dispatch, nor retain them, nor so much as speak unto them. This silent kind of rebuke without word-giving, seemed to suit best with the majesty of the people of Rome.

¹ 27. 9. 8.² 27. 10. 9.

Afterwards,¹ in 204 B.C. they were punished ; each town was ordered to provide a contingent twice the size of the largest that it had ever sent, and these to be taken from their wealthiest citizens and to be sent on foreign service. The colonies declared this impossible, but soon found it wise to obey.

The second case is the treatment given to a large body of men—some 10,000 to start with and in the end considerably more—who were known as the *Soldiers of Cannae*, that is the men who ran away from the great battle and afterwards, by one road and another, drifted back to this or that Roman force. By the end of the year 216 they were all under the command of Marcellus. Their history as a body precisely covers the period with which we have been concerned, from 215 to 203, and nothing could be more characteristic of the Roman attitude to the war. We all know that this problem, though it was rarely mentioned in public reports, was one which a great number of our own Company-commanders, and even Brigadiers, if not Divisional Officers, had to face at different moments of the war on the Western front ; and I suppose that the instinct of an English General was to distribute as widely as possible among his different units the men who had shown themselves unreliable, so as to abolish, as far as possible, any corporate traditions of slackness which might have contributed to their plight. The last thing, I fancy, that would occur to an English commander would be to form them up in a corps by themselves, and he would not dream of keeping them for twelve years outside the fighting zone.

Now note briefly what happened in Italy in 216 B.C. A few months after the disaster of Cannae the Romans had lost 25,000 men (that is the whole of two legions with their contingents of allies) in another overwhelming defeat in the North of Italy by the Gauls, who had lured the Roman Commander into the midst of a forest which they had then literally brought down upon his head. They overturned on to the advancing legions a crushing weight of trees, whose trunks had been carefully sawn through beforehand, for a great distance on either side of the track. Yet this tragical addition to their losses did not make the Senate less zealous for the quality of the Roman forces. On the contrary, directly after this, they gave instructions to Marcellus

to weed out carefully from his force any soldiers who had had any share in the rout at Cannae ; and to the number of 10,000 they were transported to Sicily, with the grim instructions that they were to serve there without pay, on menial duties only, and with no leave of absence and no completion of service, until the army of Hannibal should have left Italy. So there they sailed, a disgraced and dejected multitude ; two years later their numbers were increased from a curious source. In 214 B.C. the Censors drew up a list of all the men of military age in Rome (they proved to be over 2000 in number) who had had no official exemption from military service but who had not offered themselves for service since the beginning of the war. They were bundled out of Rome and sent to join the Soldiers of Cannae in Sicily under the same conditions. Not exactly an encouraging (or even welcome) set of newcomers ! In 209 B.C. the number was increased by the addition of the survivors of a serious defeat suffered at Herdonea—many hundreds more dumped upon this human dust-heap.

What was the effect of this treatment on the minds of these men ? That question is naturally put by any one who has thought at all (and which of us has not ?) on the problem of our own disaffected citizens ; for that is the name by which I should describe the Conscientious Objectors, though I do not wish by the word disaffected to imply any general and indiscriminate condemnation. Their minds may have been set—in some cases they certainly were set—on what they thought a higher allegiance than that towards the country which fed, clothed and defended them at the cost of the lives of their fellow-citizens ;—but towards that country they were certainly disaffected ; and we all know what a burden they were to the Government and to the rest of our community in the struggle in which we were engaged. The Roman treatment of this kind of people, stern as it was, shows none of the persecutor's temper ; they were protected from any outburst of popular anger ; they were fed, and clothed, and sent away to what was then a distant region—no postal service ran then between Rome and Sicily—in a place where they could be put to useful work but in no position of danger, nor of trust which they could betray. Now what was the effect on the minds of these men ? In the light of our own experience one of the most interesting passages in the whole of Livy is the speech which he puts¹ into the mouth of a deputation

¹ 25. 6. 17.

from this body of men to the Proconsul Marcellus when he was in charge of Sicily in the year 213 B.C. a year later than the arrival of the shirkers from Rome.

"We, against whom nothing can be objected at all, unless it be this, that we were the cause, that at least some citizens of Rome might be said to remain alive of all those that were at the battle of Cannae: we, I say, are sent far enough off, not only from our homes and from Italy, but also from all enemies, while we wax old in exile, to the end that we should have no hope or opportunity to cancel our disgrace, to mitigate the anger of our fellow-citizens, and finally to die with honour. But it is neither end of shame nor reward of valour, that we now crave: only that we might be permitted to make proof of our courage. Pains and perils we seek for, and to be employed in dangerous adventures, like men and soldiers. Two years already there hath been sharp and hot war in Sicily. . . . The shouts of them that fight, the very clattering and ringing of their armour we can hear where we are; and we sit still and idly do nothing, as if we had neither hands nor weapons to fight with. Will you yourself, O Marcellus, make trial of us, and of our valour, by sea, by land, in pitched field, or in making assault on walled townes? Put us to it, and spare not . . ."

With these words they fell downe prostrate at Marcellus' feet. Marcellus answered them that he had neither power of himself, nor instructions otherwise, to satisfy their request. Howbeit, write he would to the Senate; and according as the Senate should give direction, so he would do.

You see they did not venture to ask for payment or recall, or for any privilege but that of being allowed to fight. Their grievance was that the war was going on almost within their hearing, but they were never trusted with swords in their hands. What did the Senate reply?

That as concerning those soldiers, who had forsaken their fellows fighting before Cannae, the Senate saw no reason why they should be put in trust any more with the affairs of the Common-wealth; but if M. Claudius Marcellus the Proconsul thought it good otherwise, he might do according to that which he judged convenient, and to stand with his own credit and the safety of the State. Provided always, that not one of them be dispensed with, nor freed from service, nor rewarded with any military gift in token of valour: nor yet returned home again into Italy, so long as the enemy made abode there.

It seems that, from this time, they were occasionally employed on real military duty; but they were still maintained as a totally separate corps not mixed with the other armies in Sicily; and four years later, after

they had been joined by the run-a-ways from Herdonea, we find a renewal¹ of severity towards a certain class, viz. the wealthier of them who served in the cavalry. The rest, however, enjoyed a more or less legitimised position ; they were still kept separate from other troops, but were assigned year by year by the Senate as part of the forces entrusted to the officer in command of Sicily. This continued until 204 B.C. when the whole situation was changed by the arrival of Scipio. We have just seen how he had secured, after a struggle, the command of Sicily with permission to cross to Africa if he chose. But beyond the forces in Sicily no army had been given him for the purpose, and like another brilliant Italian commander of a later day, Garibaldi, Scipio had to rely for his great enterprise largely on the help of volunteers. Naturally he was not inclined to despise any trained forces that he could secure ; and having received a favourable report from his predecessors of the way in which these patient men of Cannae had behaved in small operations in the last six years, he proclaimed that he would make no difference between the men of this group and the rest in choosing men for the great invasion of Africa. After carefully weeding out the physically unfit, he embodied the rest in his army, and they shared in the final victory of Zama. The Romans conquered even Hannibal in the field because they had first achieved a victory over the spirit of disaffection in the hearts of their own citizens. How far can we be sure that we did the same ?

¹ 27. 11. 4.

THE QUEST FOR QUADRATUS.

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SOME time ago, we drew attention to the fact that the story of the *Passion or Martyrdom of Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, as it is related in Greek documents (preserved in Mount Sinai and elsewhere), and printed in the Greek Patrology among the Lives of the Saints which are ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes, contains a piece of apologetic matter which had clearly been copied, by the writer of the *Acts of the Martyrdom*, from some very early Christian author. We suggested, also, that this borrowed matter might possibly be part of a lost *Apology for the Christian Faith*, known to have been presented, early in the second century, by Quadratus, Bishop of Athens, to the Emperor Hadrian. Finally, we pointed out that in the *Acts of Catherine* with its embedded *Apology*, we have a literary parallel to the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, whose nucleus and centre of crystallization is the incorporated *Apology* which an Athenian philosopher, named Aristides, had presented to the same Emperor, and we concluded by offering evidence for our belief that the books are by the same author, and that the prior document of the pair was the *Martyrdom of Catherine*.

Our present purpose is to continue, if not to conclude, the evidence for these assumptions.

In the case of *Barlaam and Joasaph* the identification in the body of the romance was rendered easy, by the fact that Aristides had been discovered in a Syriac translation in the Library in Mount Sinai, which told us definitely whose *Apology* it was ; but in the case of the *Catherine* document we had no such assistance ; the dissection had to be done in the dark, or in a very subdued light, and it was left to further investigation to settle whether the recovered author was

Quadratus or not. We had no reason to doubt that a document which was of the nature of an *Apology* was in the Catherine text : but it had not been employed with the same simplicity of transference and completeness of incorporation as in the case of Barlaam and Joasaph with Aristides. We can see this pretty clearly if we put the *Catherine Apology* under the critical microscope.

Its argument is seen to be on quite a different plane from that of Aristides. It would not be unfair to that philosopher to say, that, although he clearly identifies himself with the Stoic school of thought, so that his opening chapter reads like a summary of a Stoic lecture, his chief interest was the indictment of the Morals of Olympus, an indictment which serves as a foil for an exquisite picture which he presents of the simplicity, purity, and benevolence of the early Christian believers.

In the case of the *Catherine Apology* the writer has a different method to pursue ; he is a destructive critic of the Euhemerist order ; the gods, as Euhemerus said, are dead men deified, and the proof can be made from the Pagan literature and the Greek historians, as the writer of the *Martyrdom* undertakes to show. It was a dangerous method to adopt ; for in Greek circles, Euhemerism was commonly equated with Atheism, and Atheism was one of the popular cries against the Christians, as, for example, when the mob shouted, " Down with the Atheists ! " at the trial of Polycarp ; but in imperial circles, also, and in the second century, when there was a line of deified emperors to look back upon, and another line to look forward to, it required no small courage for a Christian controversialist to take up the Euhemerist position. When we look more closely into the matter, we see that the Apologist, whoever he was, did not altogether neglect the method which Aristides found so attractive. He had something to say about the *Chronique Scandaleuse* of the Greek Mythology, and the author of the *Catherine Acts* has slurred it over. We will give an instance of what we mean.

In c. 10 the *Acta* have side-thrusts at Zeus, who is described as a liar and a trickster (σχόλιον), a knave and a deceiver (πανούργον, ἀπατεῶνα), and these charges are to be proved from Homer, but the passages from the poet are not given, and we are left to imagine the breach of the truce with the Greeks, which Zeus takes a hand in, and similar matters. Evidently the text has been abbreviated. This is

followed by the scandalous story of the way in which three of the great Olympians plotted the capture and imprisonment of Zeus himself, to whom Thetis comes with information of the plot and assistance against it. The writer says that the scheme was engineered by 'Hera, Poseidon, and Athena.' The order of the words shows that the *Iliad* is quoted, for here is the line

Ἡρῃ τ' ἡδὲ Ποσειδάων καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

Il. i. 399 :

but, as quotation, it has dropped out from the text which again becomes suspect of abbreviation. The whole passage will be found quoted in Ps. Justin, *Cohort.* 2, probably from our lost *Apology*.

A more striking case is the omission of Platonic matter from the argument ; although, when the story of the oratorical skill of Catherine comes to its end, in a not unworthy passage, the Emperor is told that he has heard what Plato has to say, and has come under the charm of Orpheus, whom even lifeless things obey. Orpheus is in the text, perhaps abbreviated, but Plato is absent ; but, as we shall see presently, he must have stood there, for he is actually referred to ; and, indeed, in some passages of the *Republic*, for instance, he talks like a Christian Apologist so as to invite quotation. We infer, then, that the Catherine text is, as regards the Apologetic matter which it has incorporated, incomplete and abbreviated. We are now going in search of the missing matter.

In the *Lives of the Saints* as edited in Latin by Surius, and in Greek and Latin in the same volume of the *Greek Patrology* (tom. 116) from which we took our text of *St. Catherine's Martyrdom*, there will be found a long story of the *Martyrdom of Saint Eustratius and his Companions*. It is, indeed, a long-winded story, some sixty columns of text, relating the trial and torture of a group of martyrs from Cappadocia and Cilicia, with all the extravagance that monastic imagination can attach to official and imperial cruelty. Most of it is sheer waste of time to read, but the attention is arrested here and there, and problems are suggested similar to those which we met in the Catherine legend. The text is one of those that are grouped under the name of Symeon Metaphrastes, but here again we have to ask the question whether Symeon the Translator really had anything to do with

it. Perhaps, as in the other case, the Greek may be wholly or in part original.

The opening paragraphs of the *Acts of Eustratius* are very like the introduction to the *Acts of Catherine*. Here also, we begin with a statement that in the days of certain persecuting emperors (this time it is Diocletian and Maximin), the whole Roman Empire had lapsed into paganism and was enthusiastic, under imperial pressure, for the cult of idols, and the suppression of the Christian Faith. Those who did not fall into line with the Imperial edicts were to be punished in their goods and in their persons. There is a rough parallelism, as we have said, with the *Acts of Catherine*; it may be conventional, and it may be accidental.

As we run our eyes over the story, we stumble upon a block of Apologetic matter, and at the same time upon a quotation from Aeschylus. The martyr Eustratius begins to expound the Christian Faith to the Governor before whom he is brought; if we omit certain interjections on the part of the Governor, in the style of a Platonic dialogue, we have before us a long continuous exposition of Christianity; first, why it is not possible to accept the classical presentation of the Pagan Deities; second, what is the Christian Doctrine of the Creation, the Fall and the Redemption. Under the former head, the Apologist is emphasising that 'Plato was of us.' We have then a portion of an Apology, and it is a Greek Apology. That it is original Greek, at all events in this part of the *Martyrdom*, was apparent from the Aeschylean quotation. It runs as follows: 'We are not to say with Aeschylus,

θεὸς μὲν αἰτίαν φύει βρότοις
ὅτ' ἂν κακῶσαι δῶμα παμπήδην θέλη.

This is a fragment from the lost play of the *Niobe*, and a reference to Nauck's *Fragments of the Tragic Poets* will tell us that it is found in Plato, *Republic*, ii. p. 380 a, in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* xiii. p. 643 (from Plato), in Plutarch, *De audiendis poetis*, c. 17, p. 17, and *de comm. sens.* c. 14, p. 465, as well as in Stobaeus. Nauck does not know that the passage occurs in the *Acts of Eustratius*; but it is no matter, for on looking closer at our text, we shall see that the Aeschylus fragment is only there, because the writer is quoting Plato's *Republic*, and, it is hardly necessary to add, quoting in the

original Greek. The Metaphrast has disappeared. We must now examine the way in which Plato is brought upon the scene. The method of introduction is as follows.

The governor is trying to persuade Eustratius to sacrifice, and the martyr asks ironically whether it is to the big or little gods that he is to sacrifice. The governor says sternly, 'To God and the gods.' (The Latin version explains that this means Zeus, Apollo and Poseidon. The same group is implied in the Armenian text, as Mr. Conybeare informed me.) The martyr then asks the judge for the inspired authorities upon whom he bases his command. The governor says 'Upon Plato, Aristotle, Hermes and the rest of the wise ; if you had been acquainted with them, Eustratius, you would have revered their memories, as being marvellous and pious men.' The martyr explains that he was brought up in the school of the Muses, under the direction of an erudite father ; he suggests that we begin with Plato and see what he thought about Zeus and the rest of the gods. The governor says : 'In the *Timæus*, Plato tells us that he went down to the Piræus, to pray to the goddess.' It is the opening sentence of the *Republic* : "I went down to the Piræus yesterday, with Glaucon the son of Ariston, that I might offer a prayer to the goddess, etc." (The governor has here got into a confusion ; he quotes *Timæus* for the *Republic* and Plato for Socrates.) The martyr picks up the allusion. Plato, he says, condemns your Zeus. "Since you have begun at the Piræus and the *Republic* listen to what Plato says in his second book ;" he then quotes a long passage, the Greek of which in the Patrology needs a little correction, and which runs as follows in Jowett's translation : we underline what Eustratius has appropriated :

"God, if he be good, is not the author of all things, as the many assert, but is the cause of a few things only, and not of most things that occur to men. For few are the goods of human life, and many are the evils, and the good is to be attributed to God alone ; of the evils the cause is to be sought elsewhere, and not in him."

That appears to me to be most true, he said. *Then we must not listen to Homer or to any other poet* who is guilty of the folly of saying that two casks

'Lie at the threshold of Zeus, full of lots, one of good, the other of evil lots,'
and that he to whom Zeus gives a mixture of the two

' Sometimes meets with evil fortune, at other times with good ' ;
but that he to whom is given the cup of unmingled ill,

' Him wild hunger drives over the Divine earth.'
and again,

' Zeus, who is the dispenser of good and evil to us.' And if anyone asserts that the violation of oaths and treaties of which Pandarus was the real author, was brought about by Athene and Zeus, or that the strife and conflict of the gods was instigated by Themis and Zeus, he shall not have our approval ; neither will we allow our young men to hear the words of Aeschylus, that

' God plants guilt among men when he desires utterly to destroy a house.'

And if a poet writes of the sufferings of Niobe, in which these iambic verses occur, etc.

that God, being good, is the author of evil to anyone, is to be strenuously denied, and *not allowed to be sung or said* in any well ordered common-wealth *by old or young.*"

It will be seen that Eustratius is trying to turn the enemy's guns upon himself : he is doing what Catherine did with Diodore, Hecataeus and the rest of 'your historians and philosophers ;' 'your Diodore,' says she, 'who is our Diodore,' and so on. Perhaps the coincidence in method may take us further. Let us see how Eustratius proceeds with his argument : he tells us that "Plato will not hold it lawful in his ideal city to say that a god is a parricide, as Zeus whom you worship was of his own father Kronos, when he cast him forth from Heaven and broke him to pieces ; nor shall we allow that he, Zeus, became a swan, that he might work craftily with, and corrupt a mortal maid. But over and above these incidents Plato is angry with your god, because overcome by grief and womanish madness (*read ἀνία for μανία*, womanish distress), he, Zeus, your own god (think of it, Judge) bewails the death of Sarpedon. Is it not so ? Are not all these mythical statements in your literature ? And if Plato himself, your wise author, refused to believe such an one to be a god, and forbad any one in pursuit of virtue to imitate such, why do you deject us to such actions as they were detected in, and force us to the worship of such characters ?"

It will be seen that Eustratius is still harping on the same string : it is Plato's opinion of Zeus, of Zeus as parricide, of Zeus as the

metamorphosed lover, of Zeus as the wailing and bereaved friend. He is taking this catalogue of Olympian weaknesses from Plato. This time it is the third book of the *Republic* (iii. p. 388) that furnishes parallel matter : as for example—"Still more earnestly will we beg of him (Homer) not to introduce the gods lamenting, and saying,

Alas ! my misery ! alas that I bore the bravest to my sorrow !

But if he must introduce the gods, at any rate let him not dare so completely to misrepresent the greatest of the gods, as to make him say—

'O heavens ! with my eyes I behold a dear friend of mine driven round and round the city, and my heart is sorrowful !'

Or again—

'Woe is me that I am fated to have Sarpedon, dearest of men to me, subdued at the hands of Patroclus the son of Menoetius.' "

If we look at the *Cohortatio* ascribed to Justin, which we have shown to be so closely related to the *Acts of Catherine* and their sources, we shall find the same quotations as above.

But where is Leda, and the Swan ? It is interesting to note that Plato in the second book of the *Republic*, after the passages quoted above, goes on to discuss the possibility of a change of form on the part of the gods ; can a 'god turn wizard, and work fantasy on us with varied forms ?' He, of course, answers the question in the negative ; such a change could only be from the better to the worse, and of that the Best is incapable.

Returning to Eustratius, we find that he now leaves this part of his theme, and proceeds to discuss (1) the nature of God, (2) the story of the Creation, the Fall, and the Redemption. He still keeps his eye on Greek philosophy and on Greek literature ; for instance, when we come to Creation, the theme is introduced by Hesiod, who appears, leading in Erebus and Chaos, to make parallels with the Tohu and Bohu of Moses, and we note again the accent of the phrase ; it is, '*your* poet Hesiod.' We have now left Plato far behind, and the parallels which Plato brings to Christian thought ; we read on page after page, until at last the Apologetic matter ends abruptly in the following significant manner : the martyr says to his judge—

'These things I have briefly gone over with you, that, being persuaded by your own wise Plato, and having learnt the truth from me, you may abandon Zeus the parricide, your god, that empassioned

swan, the one that weeps and wails excessive over the death of his children.' Here is the Greek of the passage :

Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ διεξήλθον, ἵνα καὶ τῷ σοφῷ σου Πλάτῳ πεισθεῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τάληθῇ διδαχθεῖς, ἀποτάξῃ τῷ πατρολοίῳ Διὶ τῷ θεῷ σου, τῷ ἐπαφροδίτῳ κύκνῳ, τῷ πολλὰ κλαίοντι ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ.

This passage evidently belongs much earlier in the text ; it is a *membrum disjectum* ; it should come where we left Plato frowning on parricide and metamorphosis and divine wailing. Suppose that we say that, in the sources of Eustratius, Plato was treated continuously, and not divided into a thought and a subsequent reminiscence.

Very good ; but this appended matter is of the first importance as to its language. 'Your wise Plato' (so in c. 22 ad fin : 'Plato, your wise author,' ὁ σοφὸς ὑμῶν συγγραφεύς) 'persuaded by Plato' : we compare the opening of the *Catherine Apology*, where the emperor is exhorted to be 'persuaded by your wise Diodore,'

Τῷ παρ' ὑμῶν σοφῷ Διοδώρῳ πεισθέντα,

and again 'the wise historians of yours, be persuaded by them, your Majesty, etc.' : and 'the wise Plato and Orpheus.' The conclusion is obvious ; the two apologies are by the same hand ; and as we have pointed out that the Catherine legend was truncated by the omission of the matter taken from Plato, we may now fill up the lacuna by inserting in the lost *Apology* which they both make use of, the Platonic section which we isolated from the text of Eustratius.

Are we now any nearer to answering the question whether the *Apology* of which we find the fragments is that of Quadratus ? Can we decide that question either in the positive or negative ?

One suggestion comes to the mind, that perhaps the Martyr Kodratios whose Armenian Acts were edited by Conybearē many years since (*Monuments of Early Christianity*, 1894) may be a disguise of Quadratus, in which case we might expect to find fragments, at least, of his *Apology* in his assumed *Martyrdom*. The suggestion, however, does not appear to be fruitful : there are some hints of an apologetic character, and a favourite quotation from Homer about the rule of the many (πολυκοιρανίη) not being good, but nothing that can be of use to us.

It will be profitable to us now to retrace our steps and examine more closely the relation between the *Acts of Catherine* (AC) and the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph* (BJ).

If we turn to the third chapter of BJ, we shall find the story of how King Abenner cast the horoscope of his new-born son, by the art of five and fifty selected astrologers. The story runs thus :

"Now on his son's birth-day feast there came unto the King some five and fifty chosen men, schooled in the star-lore of the Chaldaeans : (συνῆλθον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐξ ἐπιλογῆς ἄνδρες ὡσεὶ πεντηκοντάπεντε κτέ). These the King called into his presence (καὶ τούτους ἐγγυτάτω παραστησάμενος) and asked them, severally, to tell him the future of the new-born babe."

Now suppose we turn to the *Acts of Catherine*, we shall find that the emperor, in order to confute the saint, issues a proclamation to all the wise people of his realm to come to his assistance with their rhetorical skill, under the promise of adequate rewards attending their success. We are then told (AC. c. 7) that 'when these letters had gone forth into all his kingdom, in a brief space of time there came together to him fifty picked rhetoricians, acute of understanding, and very strong in speech ; and these Maxentius brought into the closest relation with himself, in order that he might by familiarities the more whet them for the conflict : (συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐπιλογῆς τὸν ἀριθμὸν πεντήκοντα ῥήτορες, ὅξεις τε νοῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατοι· καὶ τούτους ἐγγυτάτω παραστησάμενος ὁ Μαξέντιος κτέ). It will be seen at a glance, that the two accounts are not independent : the fifty-five astrologers are related to the fifty orators. One group is answerable for the other.

Continuing our perusal of the passage in BJ we see that, among the fifty-five astrologers (in the Latin text attached to the Greek of Boissonade the number is given as *fifty*, which may be right and if so, the numerical agreement with Catherine is exact), one has the pre-eminence over the rest, and instead of making the stars tell big things of the new-born king, such as the wizards were expected to tell, he plays the part of Barlaam and predicts that the child will become a Christian : (εἷς δὲ τῶν ἀστρολόγων, ὁ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων διαφορώτατος, εἶπεν) ; "one of the astrologers, the most learned of all his fellows spoke thus."

Turning to the *Acts of Catherine* (AC. c. 8) we find that when

the rhetoricians meet the King, "one of them, the most learned of all his fellows," explained that, however intelligent Catherine may be, she will hardly be able to meet a trained orator: (εἰς τῶν ῥητόρων, ὁ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων διαφορώτατος, εἶπεν). The expression is precisely that which is used of the leading astrologer.

This astrologer, then, spake thus, like Balaam of old (ὥσπερ ὁ πάλαι Βαλαάμ) "not that his star-lore told him true, but because God *signifieth the truth* by the mouth of his enemies *that all excuse may be taken from the ungodly* (τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδεικνύντος, ὥστε πᾶσαν τοῖς ἀσεβέσι πρόφασιν περιαιρεθῆναι). Now turn to the conclusion of Catherine's address in which she is quoting from a lost Christian Apology (AC. c. 12); she has been taking testimony from Apollo the noble and pure and from Orpheus the inspired; these have confessed the unity of God, and have "*signified something of truth, so that all excuse has been taken from the ungodly*," (καί τι καὶ [l. δι'] αὐτῶν παρεδειχθη τῆς ἀληθείας. ὥστε πᾶσαν ἀσεβέσι πρόφασιν περιαιρεθῆναι).

The writer of the romance goes on to explain how the King designed to isolate his son from all possible Christian influences, in a palace from which the ills of life were artificially expelled. He planned this because, in his defiance of destiny and divine intent, "seeing he did not see, and hearing, he did not understand," (βλέπων γὰρ οὐχ ἑώρα, καὶ ἀκούων οὐ συνίει). This is the concluding sentence in Catherine's Apology, following immediately on the words about the godless who are without excuse; (βλέποντες οὐχ ἑώρων, καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ συνίσταν). The author of the Romance has separated the sentences, by the interjection of the regulations made for the isolation of the young prince. The separation marks him out as a secondary product.

Now let us look at the matter of the parallelism between the fifty-five astrologers and the fifty orators, each group having a distinguished spokesman. As we are now outside any quoted *Apology* and in the area belonging to the novelist, we have to ask whether the astrologers or the orators come first in the evolution of the tales. When we come to the part of the *Barlaam and Joasaph* story where the Christian religion is to be defended by the false Nachor, making use of the *Apology of Aristides*, we find that the preliminary proceedings

consist in the summoning by royal proclamation of a group of orators, exactly in the manner of the Catherine story. Moreover they are introduced in the same manner as in the *Acta*. We have only to compare such passages as the following : BJ (c. 26, p. 237).

"There were gathered together innumerable multitudes, come to view the contest and see which side should carry off the victory. Then one of the orators, the most eminent of all his fellows, said unto Nachor, 'Art thou that Barlaam, which hath so shamelessly and audaciously blasphemed our gods'": (ὁ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων διαφορώτατος κτέ) AC (c. 8 and c. 9). "One of the orators, the most eminent of all his fellows, said . . . A dense crowd had been gathered on the run to view the contest and see which side should carry off the victory. . . . Then proudly spake that high-born orator, 'Art thou the woman, who hath so shamelessly and audaciously blasphemed our gods?'": (ὁ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων διαφορώτατος . . . εἰς θεὰν τοῦ ἀγῶνος . . . σὺ εἶ ἡ ἀναισχύντως κτέ). The comparison of these passages shows clearly the equivalence of the fifty-five selected astrologers in BJ and the fifty selected orators in AC. Here again we have the feature of a duplicated story in BJ, for the *orators* turn up as a group on the day of the great debate. The author of the Romance has used his material twice, with variations, and the material is the *Acts of Catherine*. He turned Catherine's orators into astrologers for his opening chapters, and then put them aside for this further use at a later point in the story. He followed Catherine closely in her use of a Christian Apology; whether he has made other extracts beyond those in AC is a question for further enquiry. In any case the dependence of BJ upon AC is clearly made out. If the two works should turn out to be by the same hand, then AC is the 'prentice hand.'

The unity of the authorship acquires high probability if we reflect that BJ has used AC much in the same way as he has done with Aristides. We know now, since we have acquired the actual text of Aristides, that it was in the mind of the author of this great romance from the very start,¹ and his thought was constantly eddying round it, even when there was no special incentive to quotation or reminiscence. For instance when he is sketching the religious history of mankind and comes to the Patriarch Abraham, he introduces him as one who had

¹ Cf. c. i., c. vii., etc.

“considered heaven, earth and sea, the sun, moon and the like and marvelled at their harmonious ordering.” This is the opening sentence of Aristides, and Abraham a good Stoic. What he does with Abraham in c. 7, he does with the Christian theology in the first chapter, and elsewhere. As we have said his thought eddies round the *Apology*, of which he picks up sentences and phrases, long before the great debate begins, in which the *Apology* is incorporated.

It is clear also, that there is a similar eddy round the *Acts of Catherine*, which are in evidence all through BJ, as we have shown above, in scattered expressions and broken sentences. This peculiarity of method carries with it the common authorship; for the *Acts of Catherine* are such an inconspicuous document compared with the *Apology of Aristides*, that it is in the highest degree improbable that the author of BJ should have it at his finger-tips and so assiduously transcribe it, unless he had paternal affection for it. We shall say, then, that BJ and AC are by a common author, and that the priority in point of time lies with the *Acts of Catherine*.

The recognition of a possible common authorship brings us to the question which we started out to resolve; for if BJ and AC are both by the same hand, and each incorporates, more or less completely, a lost Christian Apology, the chances are that the two Apologies involved are a pair. Now the companion of Aristides is certainly Quadratus.

In order to verify the accuracy of this conclusion we should naturally test the apologetic matter in AC for antiquity. Is it second century material and is it of the early part of the second century? It is here that the difficult part of the research begins. How, for example, are we to know that an allusion to Plato or Homer or Sophocles is early? In the case of the supposed extract from Sophocles we were able to trace it back to the writings of Hecataeus, and to show that all the Christian writers who quote the supposed Sophocles were borrowing from one another; we could not, however, be quite certain that the Apologist in AC was the first link in the chain.

In the same way we were able to show that there was common matter between AC and the treatise which Theophilus addressed to his friend Autolycus: that Theophilus adopts the method of Euhemerus just as Catherine's Apologist does, and makes a similar

appeal to 'your own poets and historians.' The coincidence in method may take us into the second century and put AC, as far as its apologetic matter is concerned, before the year 181 A.D., the date of Theophilus' work.

Let us see, in the next place, whether Justin Martyr has any common ideas with the Apologist of AC, and, if so, whether he may have been indebted to him either for the matter or the form.

Justin has his own way in defending the Christian Faith ; he likes to prove everything by the prophets, and when he finds himself on common ground with pagan writers or philosophers, to prove that these have really pilfered from Moses or Isaiah ; it is a method which appealed to chronology, and became very popular. When he has to deal with the corrupt practices or beliefs of the Gentile world, he explains that such viciousness of thought or action is the work of the foul demons. For instance in c. 25 of his *Apology* he explains that the Christian believer has abandoned the Olympians and found the true God. He (the Christian) has no more stories to tell about Antiope or Ganymedes ; *he does not need release for his god by the help of Thetis through him of the hundred hands*, nor compensate Thetis for her care by allowing Achilles to massacre Greeks on the grand scale.

The latter part of the paragraph is recognised by the commentators as a reference to Homer, in the beginning of the second book of the *Iliad* : we have only to compare Justin. i. *Ap.* 25 :

οὐδὲ μεριμνῶντα διὰ τοῦτο τὸν τῆς Θετίδος Ἀχιλλέα διὰ τὴν
παλλακίδα Βρισηΐδα ὀλέσαι πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

and Homer, *Il.* ii. 2 ff. :

Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος.
'Αλλ' ὅγε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα, ὥς Ἀχιλλῆα
Τιμήσῃ, ὀλέσῃ δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

The reference to Zeus obtaining help from Thetis is left obscure : we have, however, shown above that Justin's difficulty is Catherine's also, and that it is the story in the first book of the *Iliad* that is troubling them, where Hera, Poseidon and Pallas Athene are plotting to put Zeus in bonds. We repeat the parallels for the sake of convenience : Justin, i. *Ap.* 25 :

οὐδὲ λυθῆναι βοθηείας τυχόντα διὰ Θέτιδος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑκατόν-
χειρος ἐκείνου.

and Homer, *Il.* i. 399 ff. :

Ὅππότε μιν ξυνδῆσαι Ὀλύμπιοι ἤθελον ἄλλοι,
Ἦρῃ τε ἡδὲ Ποσειδάων καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
Ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν γ' ἐλθοῦσα, θεὰ, ὑπελύσας δεσμῶν,
Ἦχ' ἑκατόγχειρον καλέσας' ἐς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,
Ὅν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες
Ἀιγαίων'.

The reference in Justin is, as we have said, obscure. It was an unlikely passage of Homer to refer to ; as far as we know it is alluded to only in this passage of Justin, in the *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, ascribed, no doubt wrongly, to Justin, and in the *Apology of Catherine*. Knowing how these early Christian writers borrow quotations from one another, it is natural to suggest that Justin is not working directly from Homer, but from the apologetic matter in the *Acts of Catherine*. In that case the apologist would almost certainly be Quadratus himself, for we have no other lost Christian Apologist of an earlier date.

It may be objected that it was possible that the Homeric quotation might have been borrowed in the reverse order, or that both authors might have extracted it independently.

If we look back at the passage which we took from the *Acts of Eustratius* and restored to the *Catherine Apology*, we shall find the saint discoursing upon the creation of the world as follows :

ἄρξομαι κατὰ τὸν σὸν ποιήτην Ἡσίοδον· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν Ἐρεβος καὶ Χάος, τούτεστι ζόφος καὶ βύθος ὑδάτων.

His object is to show that the Greek poet has the same story to tell as Moses, in the first chapter of Genesis. Justin picks up a similar thread when commenting on the creation : " we know," says he, " that the so-called Erebus of the poets was first spoken of by Moses." We notice the characteristic language of Catherine, ' *your poet Hesiod,*' in the *Acts of Eustratius*. Further than this we cannot press the argument at present. It is sufficient to have shown that the Apologetic matter in the *Acts of Catherine* is second century material and may very well be anterior to Justin Martyr.

QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS SUR LE TEXTE LATIN DU CODEX BEZAE.

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L'ON sait que c'est une entreprise des plus difficiles de dater et de localiser un texte du latin vulgaire. Malgré les écarts qui certainement ont existé entre les parlers des différentes parties de la Romania, il ne nous est pas, ou presque pas, possible de les retrouver dans les textes. Ainsi on a hésité entre le quatrième et le sixième siècle, entre l'Espagne et la France, comme patrie et comen date de la *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, et qui sait si on n'aurait pas pensé à un autre pays roman, si Aethria elle-même n'avait pas dit qu'elle venait "ab extremo occidui maris litore." Il s'agit donc d'être circonspect et de ne pas admettre trop vite des formes dialectales—l'exemple de la palinodie de l'auteur des "Lokalen Verschiedenheiten" est instructif—nous aurons seulement la chance d'en rencontrer dans les textes relativement récents, plus nous descendons le cours des siècles et plus l'influence de la langue parlée se fait sentir sur la langue écrite.

Si pourtant nous osons discuter quelques faits en vue de dater et de localiser le texte latin du *Codex Bezae*, dans sa dernière rédaction,¹ nous rendons bien compte de ce qu'il y a de hasardeux dans cette tentative et nous tenons à déclarer dès l'abord que nous considérons les observations qui vont suivre comme purement provisoires et de nature à être complétées et modifiées.

(1) Après ces remarques préliminaires arrivons aux faits. Nous ouvrons notre texte, soit dans le beau fac-similé que l'université de Cambridge en a publié, soit dans l'édition de Scrivener, et nous lisons :

(1) Luc, i. 10 :

omnis populus erat orans *forans* hora incensi.

Nous changeons *forans* en *foras*, sachant que l'introduction fautive

¹ Il est bien entendu que nous ne parlons pas des rédactions antérieures.

d'un *n* devant *s* est un phénomène courant en latin postclassique, causé par le fait qu'il était tombé de bonne heure dans la prononciation ; ainsi s'expliquent *imbrens* = *imbres*, Actes, xiv. 17 ; *concipiens* = *conciplies*, Luc, i. 31 ; *inpones* = *imponens*, Luc, iv. 40 ; et sans doute aussi *instans super eam*, Luc, iv. 39, qu'il faut interpréter probablement comme *stans*, forme que donne la Vulgate, avec le *i* prosthétique qu'on trouve par exemple dans *ispes*, Actes, xvi. 19. Nous lisons donc *foras* ; dans ce passage il a la valeur de *foris*, qui est la leçon de la Vulgate. Or, en français *foras* a disparu, *foris* a seul subsisté dans *fors et hors*. Il est vrai qu'avant la chute complète, une période de confusion entre les deux formes a dû précéder dans la Gaule du Nord, période pendant laquelle *foras* et *foris* s'employaient l'un pour l'autre, et je ne veux donc pas attacher trop de valeur à ce détail ; il n'en reste pas moins vrai que l'emploi de *foras* s'explique mieux dans un pays où cette forme est restée vivante.

(2) Dans Matth., ch. xxv. nous rencontrons douze fois *talantum* et trois fois *talentum*. Les langues romanes n'ont gardé que *talentum*, excepté le français, qui a *talant* aussi bien que *talent*, et le provençal, qui lui aussi a les deux formes *talan* et *talen*. Il est donc probable que celui qui a copié notre manuscrit était un habitant de la Gaule du nord ou du sud.

(3) Marc, i. 3 on lit :

rectas fate semitas dei nostri,

où *fate* a été corrigé par une main postérieure en *facite*. Or, *fate* est une forme qui a existé en latin postclassique : l'italien *fate* et le provençal *fatz* remontent tous les deux à cette forme abrégée, tandis que la forme pleine a donné *faites* en français, *faitz* en provençal.

(5) Luc, i. 57 et ii. 6 : nous lisons à deux reprises *ut pariret* au lieu de *pareret*. Il est vrai qu'ici encore deux explications sont possibles : on pourrait y voir un cas de la confusion si fréquente entre *i* et *e*, comme Luc, v. 13 *volo mundari* = *mundare*, confusion qui s'explique parce que *e* long et *i* bref ont pris la même prononciation ; mais remarquons que le verbe *parere* a un *e* bref, dont la prononciation ouverte se distingue nettement du son fermé de l'*e* long. Il est donc probable que nous n'avons pas affaire ici à une simple graphie, mais au passage du verbe *parere* à la quatrième conjugaison ; et, en effet, ce passage est attesté par le provençal, l'espagnol et le portugais,

qui disent *parir*. Meyer-Lubke ne cite pas le provençal dans son "Romanisches-Etymologisches Worterbuch," mais le mot est dans Levy.

(6) Actes, xvii. 28 :

in ipso enim vivimus et *simus*.

Nous savons que dans une partie de la Romania la forme *simus* a remplacé *sumus* : *semo*, si fréquent dans Dante, remonte à cette forme de même que *sem*, qui a existé en provençal à côté de *em* et de *esmes*. Je crois que le fait que *sem* ne se trouve pour la première fois qu'au treizième siècle dans le roman de *Flamenca* n'empêche pas d'y voir la continuation du latin *simus*. Loin d'y voir une "hypothèse presque inadmissible" comme Meyer-Lubke,¹ je trouve que c'est là l'explication la plus simple et la plus naturelle qu'on puisse donner de la forme *sem* et nous voudrions donc nous en servir dans notre essai de localiser le texte latin du Codex Bezae.

(7) Luc, ix. 3 *dix* = *dixit*.

Marc, vi. 27 *mis* = *misit*.

Ici il n'y a pas de doute : ce sont les formes provençales *dis* et *mis*. Tandis que le français *dist* et *mist*, tout en rejetant la voyelle, garde la consonne, et que les formes italennes *disse* et *mise* suppriment seulement le *t*, le provençal perd et la consonne et la voyelle finales.

(8) Une série de formes atteste la chute du *t* de la terminaison *nt* : *dixerin* = *dixerint*, Matt, v. 11.

sum = *sunt*, Jean, xvii. 14 ; de même au verset 11.²

eum = *eunt*, Actes, xii. 16.

sint = *sim*, Actes, xiii. 47.

confidens = *confident*, Luc, xviii. 9.

C'est là un fait bien connu du latin vulgaire et nous ne l'aurions pas cité si ce n'est pour relever que la France du Nord a conservé le *t* final. Nous n'avons pas à tenir compte de *Barnabant*, Actes, xi. 22, pour *Barnabam*, puisque des formes comme *Adant* et *Abraham* se rencontrent aussi en français et sont dues à l'analogie de la terminaison *-ant*, qui se rencontre fréquemment en français ; ni de *pos*, dans lequel la chute du *t* est due à sa position proclitique.

(9) Actes, xix. 16 :

¹ Gramm. des langues romanes, ii. p. 22.

² Cf. J. Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezae*, p. 65 et suiv.

et *insilien* in eos homo in quo erat spiritus nequa dominatus utrisque
valuit adversus eos.

La Vulgate a *insiliens*.

Luc, v. 16 :

ipse autem erat subtrahens se in desertis et *orant* (προευχομενος).

Actes, x. 20 :

vade cum eis nihil *dubitant* quia ego misi eos.

La Vulgate donne *dubitans*.

Luc, xv. 1 :

erant autem *adpropiant* ei omnes publicani.

appropinquantes dans la Vulgate.

Comment expliquer ces formes ? Faut-il admettre que dans *insilien* le *s* final soit tombé ; que cette même lettre se soit changée en *t* dans *orant* et *dubitant* ; et que dans *adpropiant* la terminaison *-es* se soit amuïe ? La chose devient claire, si nous pensons au fait que dans la latinité postérieure l'ablatif du gérondif en *-do* supplante de plus en plus le participe présent avec fonction verbale ; ainsi *aimant* remonte en général non à *amantem*, encore moins à *amans*, mais à *amando* ; l'italien et l'espagnol ont *amando*, le provençal *aman*. Les quatre formes *insilien*, *orant*, *dubitant*, et *adpropiant* correspondent donc à *insiliendo*, *orando*, *dubitando* et *adpropiando* ; le *o* final est tombé, comme le *i* de *misit* et de *dixit*, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, fait qui est propre au français et au provençal ; mais ce qui n'arrive que sur le domaine provençal, c'est la chute du *d* dans *insilien*. Et si nous lisons *confidens* au lieu de *confident* Luc, xviii. 9, nous avons affaire ici à ce qu'on appelle une graphie inverse ; en effet, la forme *confiden*, que l'auteur aura prononcée, correspond aussi bien à *confident* qu'à *confidens*, après que celui-ci a été remplacé par *confidendo*.

La conclusion de ce qui précède est que notre texte aura été écrit ou plutôt copié, dans le Midi de la France : seul le provençal réunit les neuf traits que nous venons d'énumérer, les autres langues romanes sont exclues tantôt pour une raison tantôt pour une autre.

Il reste pourtant deux domaines romans que nous avons passés sous silence et qui cependant doivent de toute nécessité entrer en ligne de compte. C'est d'abord le catalan, qu'on a longtemps considéré

comme un dialecte provençal et que beaucoup considèrent encore comme tel malgré les études que B. Schädel a consacrées à cette question. C'est dire que les deux langues ont beaucoup de traits communs et que pour la période préromane il sera difficile d'écarter un domaine en faveur de l'autre. Toutefois il semble que quelques traits cadrent moins bien pour le catalan que pour le provençal. Ce sont les deux formes *talantum* et *talentum* (no. 2), *fate*, en catalan *feu* (no. 3), *simus* pour *sumus* (no. 7), et, je crois, aussi (no. 9). Il est vrai que le catalan réduit lui aussi le gérondif *amando* à *aman*, mais si l'on peut se fier à la graphie *segont* de *secundum* et *mont* de *mundum*, la consonne est seulement tombée après la voyelle finale, donc à une époque relativement récente, tandis qu'en provençal, le *d* se sera assimilé à *n* avant la chute de l'*o* final.¹ Nous verrons plus loin l'importance de ce fait.

L'on sait que Ascoli dans l'*Archivio Glottologico*, iii. 61-67, a distingué le franco-provençal de la langue du Nord et de celle du Midi de la France ; ce sont les parlers des anciens évêchés de Lyon et de Vienne, d'après H. Morf. Comme cette distinction est basée surtout sur le traitement de *a* accentué, nous pouvons la négliger et ajouter que tout ce qui a été dit plus haut du provençal vaut également pour le franco-provençal.

Rien ne nous empêche donc d'admettre comme patrie de notre manuscrit soit Lyon, admis par Scrivener, soit Clermont que préfère M. Rendel Harris.

Il reste encore une question à élucider qui pourrait constituer une objection très grave contre nos conclusions. Quelle est la date du Codex Bezae ? Scrivener serait porté à admettre le cinquième siècle en se basant sur les données paléographiques, mais des arguments d'un autre ordre d'idées l'amènent à adopter plutôt le sixième siècle comme date du manuscrit ; et M. Rendel Harris accepte cette date.

Si cette datation est juste, toute notre hypothèse s'écroule, car les changements phonétiques signalés sous les nos. 7 et 9 n'ont certainement pas pu se produire à une époque si ancienne. Mais cette datation est-elle basée sur des arguments solides ? Je ne le crois pas.

¹ Cf. Groeber, *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, I², p. 860 ; C. Appel, *Provenzalische Lautlehre*, pp. 71-72.

Scrivener reconnaît lui-même que les faits paléographiques ne fournissent pas de donnée bien sûre et les arguments qui le portent à attribuer notre texte au sixième siècle sont précisément basées sur l'étude de la langue et je n'ai pas besoin de dire qu'un romaniste de l'année 1924 n'est pas tenu à accepter les opinions linguistiques émises en 1864 par un théologien quoique M.A. Nous avons donc le droit de nous servir de nos constatations pour essayer de fixer la date approximative à laquelle notre ms. aura été composé.

A vrai dire, nous ne savons pas grand'chose de l'époque à laquelle les voyelles finales autres que *a* sont tombées en provençal. Si on peut citer le Glossaire de Reichenau aussi pour le Sud de la France, la chute a eu lieu avant ce texte, qui est du *viii^e* siècle, puisqu'il connaît déjà le changement de *a* final en *e*, phénomène postérieur à la perte des autres voyelles finales. Puis, il est probable que la voyelle s'est effacée un peu plus tôt après une liquide, donc dans *amanno* de *amando* plus tôt que dans *vento* par exemple. On peut donc admettre que des formes comme *insilien* ont pu exister vers la fin du septième ou au commencement du huitième siècle et c'est par conséquent à cette époque que le scribe qui a copié le Codex Bezae aura vécu.

Finissons par répéter que je présente ces conclusions comme purement provisoires et que des recherches plus approfondies sont nécessaires pour arriver à des résultats plus sûrs.

THE TRADITIONAL BURIAL OF MOSES ON MOUNT SINAI.

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.

IN the January number of the BULLETIN a suggestion was thrown out that the traditional burial of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai was an attempted coincidence between the post-mortem fortunes of the Saint and those of the great Hebrew legislator, Catherine having in her last moments prayed that her body might never be found, while of Moses it is recorded that, 'no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day,' although in general terms the place of sepulchre is said to be on Mount Nebo. On the foregoing supposition the discovery of Catherine's body on the summit of Mount Sinai, and its ultimate deposition in the chapel of the Burning Bush are due to a misunderstanding of the terms upon which the angels were sent to remove her from Alexandria.

The parallel that was here drawn between Catherine and Moses received an accession of interest from the discovery that at some period in the history of the Convent on Mount Sinai the monks held the belief that Moses was actually buried in their neighbourhood, and not, as the book of Deuteronomy suggests, in the land of Moab. Such a local tradition would make parallelism at once between the two obscure funerals, and would on the page of history, as well as on the map of geography, place Jebel Mousa and Jebel Katherin in close contiguity.

It becomes interesting, then, to trace the new tradition for the Mosaic burial.

The matter came to light in an article in the *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* for Sept., 1923, written by Mr. F. H. Marshall of the Birkbeck College, London, to whom I am indebted for the transcripts and interpretations that follow. The subject of the article is a MS. in modern Greek of Georgios Chumnos, recently acquired by the British Museum, and containing a metrical paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus. From an inscription in the MS. it is clear

that it was formerly in the Library of Mount Sinai, and there is a good round curse on the unknown person who removed it from thence. The passage referring to the death and burial of Moses runs as follows :

‘Ορίζη, κάτω σκάφτουςι πρὸς τὸ σινὰ τὸ ὄρει,
εἰς ὅσον ἦτονε σόστου, καὶ ὁ μωϋσῆς ἐχώρη·
Ἐμπένη μέσα ὁ μωϋσῆς σάυτον νὰ δικήμασι,
καὶ ὁ κύριος πέμπει νέφαλον νὰ σκεπάσι.
Λοιπὸν αὐτὸν ἐσκεπάσεν καὶ ὁ μωϋσῆς ἐχάθη,
καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον ὁ λαὸς ὅλος ἐπαραπάρη.

which is, being interpreted :

“He gives command, and they dig down into Mount Sinai to the proper depth, and Moses went and entered it to test it. And the Lord sends a cloud to cover him. So He covered him and Moses was lost, and all the people was agitated with fear.”

There can be no doubt that we are dealing with a genuine Sinaitic tradition.

Mr. Marshall tells me further that there are three illustrations to this episode of the burial of Moses : they show (1) Moses directing a man who is wielding an adze within an open sarcophagus on the mountain ; (2) Moses lying within the open sepulchre (inscribed ἐθάφη ὁ μωϋσῆς ; (3) the sarcophagus closed (inscribed κιβώρι τοῦ μωϋσῆ).

How old may we assume this tradition to be ? For Chumnos himself is not earlier than about A.D. 1500. He incorporates in his poem a good deal of legendary matter, which is evidently Midrash of a much earlier period.

Mr. Marshall points out concurrences in such legends with the ‘Ιστορία παλαιῶν published by Vassiliev in *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina* for 1893, and suggests that in some cases this concurrence may mean dependence upon Andreas of Crete († ca. 730). It will be sufficient, for the present, to remark that there is not the least reason for depressing the new Sinaitic tradition of the time of Chumnos or to the modern Greek literature. It must belong to a much earlier time. How much earlier ? That is what we should like some further information about ; perhaps the closer study of the Chumnos MS. may tell the tale.

SOME SUMERIAN TABLETS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. T. FISH.

THE nine tablets here copied belong to the Bedale collection of Sumerian tablets presented to the John Rylands library by the relatives of the late Rev. Charles Bedale, who, at the time of his death, was Lecturer in Assyriology in the University of Manchester and a Governor of the John Rylands Library. The collection contains about 600 tablets, all dating from the last dynasty of Ur (i.e. c. 2400 B.C.), and at least 400 of them come from Drehem.

Hilprecht describes Drehem as "halbwegs zwischen Nippur und Suḫ-el-'Afez, in kurzer Zeit ($\frac{1}{2}$ Stunde) mit dem Boote von Nippur zu erreichen. Er repräsentiert eine ziemlich grosse Ruine, die der Ausgrabung wert ist" (quoted in Rev. d'Assyr., Vol. VII., p. 186, 1910). Excavations of the mound have been conducted privately by natives and have yielded large quantities of tablets. The first specimens were published by Thureau-Dangin, Rev. d'Assyr. 1910. Since then about 1500 others have been published either in copy or in transcription, in Italy, France, England and America. A list of the publications in which Drehem texts occur would take up two pages of the BULLETIN!

The vast majority of Drehem texts are concerned with animals, wild and domestic, their food, their skins and their use in sacrifices, at Nippur, Ur, Erech, and other Sumerian shrines. Occasionally tablets record the receipt of barley and other products, or precious stones and objects in various metals. The tablets here copied are uncommon and provide much that is new and interesting. The copies reproduce the proportions and condition of the tablets exactly.

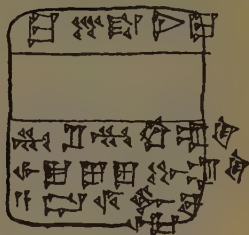
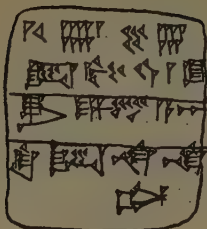
J.R. 501.—1197 salaries (á = kisru) of slaves (gim) for one day.

kin-gl-a-aš-aš occurs only here on Drehem texts. *Aš-aš* (= *didli*) is a plural suffix. Cf. Legrain TRU. 379^R where Ku-li is again concerned with salaries. *Á-na-na* is a common name on Drehem texts. Date 42 + x of Dungi.

Obv.

J.R. 501

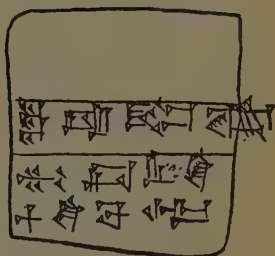
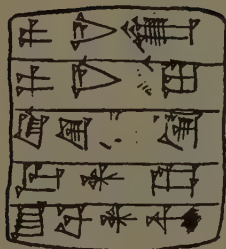
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J.R. 502.

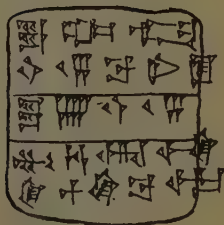
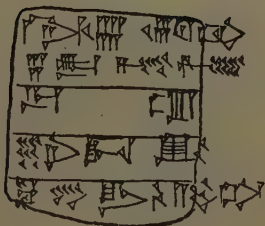
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Obv.

J.R. 503.

Rev.



J.R. 502.—Drehem text, cf. month-name, and the proper name *Ur^d Kal* (see *Legr.* TRU. 20²; Genouillac TD. 5532; Langdon TAD. 48). Is the name in third line *Zu-ú-zu*? (cf. Genouillac Tr.D. 9). The tablet records the receipt of the fat of swine (*iá-šah*) and of sheep (*iá-udu*). Date 3rd month of 45 + x year of Dungi.

J.R. 503.—*Gi-zi* = *kisu*, i.e. reed.

The month-date is particularly interesting. *itu se-kin-kud-min-kam-ta*, *itu-ezen-mah* ud 15 *ba-zal-šú*, *itu 9 ud 15*. This is clearly against the suggestion, "The *min*, after the name of the month, may mean 20th day" (*Nies. UDT.* ad 118).

For *min* after name of month on Drehem texts, cf. :—

(a) *itu mas-dū-kú-min*. *J.R.* 17 (not published).

itu šeš-da-kú-min-kam. *Legr.* TRU. 105.

itu ū-ne-kú-min-kam. *Legr.* TRU. 256.

itu ki-sig^d Nin-a-zu-min(-kam). H.E. 240 (*Rev. d'Assyr.* 1920, p. 210); SA. 8, *ibid.* 1912, p. 57.

itu-ezen^d Nin-a-zu-min-kam. *J.R.* 18 (not published).

All these are in the year 42 + x of Dungi.

(b) *itu-ezen-mah-min-kam*. SA. 124, 125; Genouillac TD. 5517; *Legr.* TRU. 36; *Nies. UDT.* 118.

The name, *Ur-mes*, and the month-names are of Drehem. 46 Dungi.

J.R. 504.—Weight of urudu (copper)-*ha-bá-da* BAD-za-kam, urudu-*ha-bá-da* occurs Keiser STD. 110¹ (from Drehem) and *Nies. UDT.* 1¹⁸, but not, as here, followed by BAD-za-kam. These "saws" (?) weighed from one to two pounds, cf. Reisner TU. 124III. 12-14; 280¹⁻³. A Drehem tablet, cf. names of persons and month—the tenth of B.S. 4.

J.R. 505 is the copy (*gab-ri* = *gabrū*) of a tablet or of an account recording allowance of *kaš-du* (*kaš* = *šikaru*, a strong drink) in varying quantities to various persons. Note the names, *Lugal-gū(?)en-e*, *Lù^d Nin-ūr-ra*, *Giš-ku-gar-ni*, *Ur-ab-ba-šig*, *Lugal-é-a-ni*, *Lugal-zag-gi-šú*, *Na-ga-nar*, *A'-nin-gà-ta*, *Mèr-di-bi*. The other names occur on Drehem texts. Date, 16-VIII.-9 B.S.

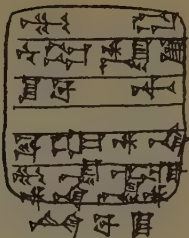
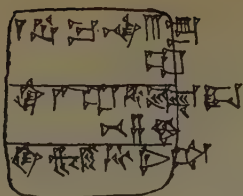
J.R. 506.—2 *gú* (talents) of *sig* (wool) of the *túg-lugal* quality. Other qualities in order of value are *sig-túg-uš-lugal*, *sig túg-3-kam-us*, *sig-túg-4-kam-uš*. Cf. *Legr.* TRU. 304; *Nies. UDT.* 45. A Drehem tablet, dated VIII. 2 B.S.

ša(g) Tùm-ma-al^{ki}.—A letter places Tummaal three days' journey, by boat, distant (from Drehem?), cf. *Legr.* TRU. 4. Probably it is to this place that numerous Drehem texts refer. *Legr.* TRU. 21⁷ reads "*ša(g) Tum-ma-al*," and from the context, e.g. "*ša(g) á-ki-ti*, seems to

Obv.

JR. 504.

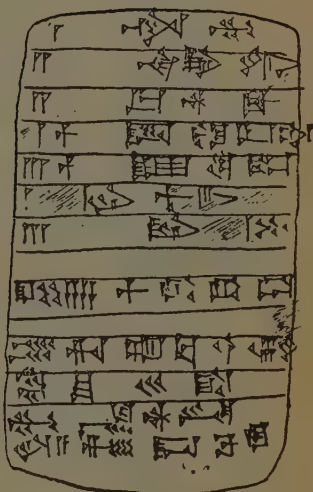
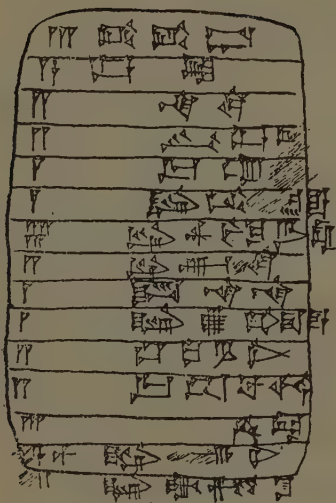
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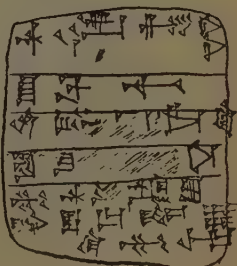
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Obv.

JR. 506.

Rev.



refer to another Tum-ma-al, perhaps to the shrine Tummaal dedicated to Ninlil at Nippur (cf. Poebel H.G.T.).

- J.R.* 507.—Reverse wanting. A Drehem text recording the despatch of sheep to the kitchen (é-MU). Identical with the obverse of *Legr.* TRU. 305, except in the second line, where *Legrain's* text reads mu-mar-tu-maš-maš ni-tùg-e-ra-ne, whereas *J.R.* 507 reads mu-mar-tu-maš-maš ni-tùg-TA-e-ra-ne. The meaning is very obscure. There seems to be a reference to the Amorrites (mar-tu). Amorites are frequently named on Drehem tablets. Their names are interesting and usually end in -num, -a-num.

Thus: Ba-nu-um mar-tu (*Lang.* TAD. 17 R³), E-la-nu-um mar-tu (*Legr.* TRU. 295¹⁵), En-gi-nu-um mar-tu (*Legr.* TRU. 29⁹), Gul-ba(?) -nu-um mar-tu (*J.R.* 184, not yet published), I-za-num mar-tu (*Gen.* TD. 5503, II²⁶), La-a-nu-um mar-tu (*Gen.* Tr.D. 25, III¹⁰), Ma-ga-nu-um mar-tu (*Legr.* TRU. 295¹⁸), Mi-da-nu-um mar-tu (*Dhorme* SA. 25³), Mu-ra-nu-um mar-tu (*Legr.* TRU. 267¹⁹), Na-ab-la-nu-um mar-tu (*Dhorme* SA. 241), Na-ab-ša-nu-um mar-tu (*Gen.* TD. 5508, I¹², 15).

Zi(d)-da-num^{ki}; *num* not *lum* because of *Delaporte*, No. 7R1, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, 1911, p. 188, where the name of this place is written *Zi(d)-da-nu-um*^{ki}. Note the Amorite termination -a-num. Was it an Amorite town?

- J.R.* 508.—A very interesting but imperfect tablet, which states the length (gid = arāku) and the width (dagal = rapšu) of 1 ig^{giš} × . Unfortunately the first line is broken. For *ig* cf. *giš* ig = da-al-tu = door, (cf. *Del.* S. Gl. p. 18) and 1 ig^{giš} dú-a-gu-la, 1 ig^{giš} dú-a-tur, 3 ig ri(g)-gi-ne-lù. *Nikolsky*, 283, 285. (Telloh Tablets of Lugalanda and Urukagina period.)

é-sag-da-na, line 6, cf. *Sag-da-naki*, *Nies.* UDT. 56⁶⁵, 60⁷⁹. (Telloh texts.)

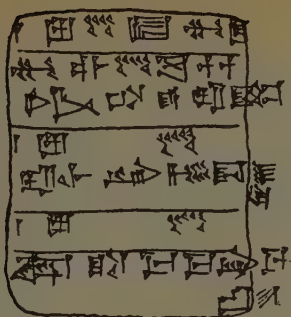
Month and year are too incomplete to decide the date. Possibly the month is itu-maš[-dū], a Drehem month, but the personal names Bá(?) -ú-a and E-lāh-a are not found on Drehem texts hitherto published.

- J.R.* 509 concerns the tūg (clothing) of uš-bar (= ušparu, weavers) and the tūg-ú and tūg-mug of kal (men), all of which are described as the tūg-ša(g)-gu(d)-ka, i.e. garments of cowherds. Date G.S.I.

Ša(g)-gu(d), cf. *Legr.* TRU. 363²³: A-a-šú lù-ša(g)-gu(d)-ta-è-a; *ibid.* 379⁴: (kal), ša(g)-gu(d)-me.

Tūg-uš-bar, cf. *Legr.* 347³; *Nesb.* SRD. VII.³; tūg-mug. *Nesb.* SRD. VII.⁵; tūg-ú, only here on Drehem texts.

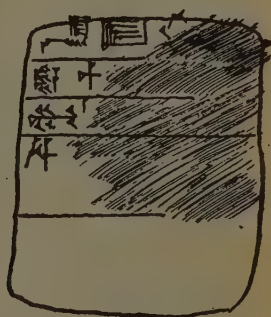
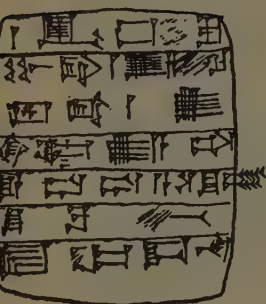
J.R. 507.



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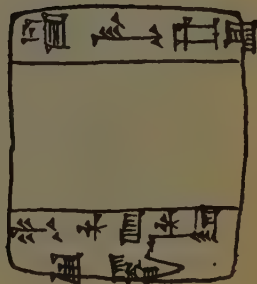
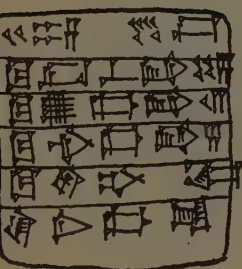
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Obv.

J.R. 509

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MANUSCRIPTS OF THE APOCALYPSE—RECENT INVESTIGATIONS.

By H. C. HOSKIER.

V.

THE PATMOS MS. OTHER SYRIACISING MSS. CONCLUSION.

PATMOS besides having harboured John, the Seer of the Apocalypse, is reputed to have been the home of other clairaudients and clairvoyants such as Apollonius of Tyana in a previous incarnation (although I understand modern criticism throws doubt upon the existence of such a man). See Philostratus, "Life of Apollonius," book 3, section 24: "I said I had a small cabin in the isle of Patmos where Proteus dwelt of old."

Be this as it may, I have—for sentimental reasons—not dared to neglect the Patmos MSS., although they have been difficult to consult, a rule of the library forbidding more than two pages of a MS. to be photographed.

One (No. 64 = my 179) is of minor importance and of the 1 family, but the other is more important than I thought. This one, No. 12 in the island library, is our No. 178.

It has a sister MS., No. 38 (Rome Vat. gr. 579), which has been known since the time of Birch and which is contained in a vol. of Miscellanies. To these 38-178 we can now add the uncial fragment known as F or 052 Gregory at Athos (Pant. 99.2). We now have the group F-38-178, which contains a substratum of the text which is really ancient, with a certain amount of revision.

My collation of 178 is made from a hand-copy of the MS. obtained through the kind offices of Professor Kelsey of the University of Michigan during a visit which he paid to the Greek Islands. This copy was read over with the MS. by Prof. Kelsey and again by the

Chief of the Monastery, and there is not much doubt about its readings.

We can rule the MS. out from any paramount place in our collection of MSS. because it bears undoubted evidence of having been carelessly copied in the early stages of its reproduction and somewhat "reworked" probably at the very outset of its career down the ages. But its general text is ancient and of very considerable importance and interest, especially as in a variety of its more striking readings it has the support of the Crawford Syriac, not alone, but with other high authorities, *e.g.* :

- | | | |
|------------|--|--|
| ii. 10. | ο διαβολος βαλλειν εξυμων | Order of <i>syr</i> SΣ and 38, 59, 61-126 (95, 200). |
| 13. | - εν αις | <i>Syr</i> S and CA and 146 (the Œcumenian MS.), 159, 200. |
| 18. | - αυτου <i>prim</i> | <i>Syr</i> S <i>gig</i> and A 36, 38, <i>fam</i> 119 <i>gig</i> . |
| iv. 8. | εν εκαστον | <i>Syr</i> S N 38, 200. |
| v. 5. | - ο ων | <i>Syr</i> N 14, 28**, 32, 111, 127, 146, 159, 200, <i>gig copt</i> (164 οτι <i>pro</i> ο ων). |
| vi. 17. | αυτων <i>pro</i> αυτου | <i>Syr</i> NC 18, 38, 111, 130, 146, 200 <i>gig Auct de prom. vg.</i> |
| viii. 11. | ως <i>pro</i> εις | <i>Syr</i> F 81, 200 <i>h copt Prim.</i> |
| ix. 2. | + καιομενης | <i>Syr</i> S <i>gig</i> and 36, 146. |
| xi. 5. | οστις <i>pro</i> ει τις <i>sec</i> | <i>Syr</i> S <i>copt</i> and 38. |
| 10. | χαρησονται | <i>Syr</i> S 38 <i>fam</i> 119 and 146 <i>com.</i> |
| 15. | θεου <i>pro</i> κυριου | <i>Syr</i> S 38. |
| xii. 2. | + και <i>post</i> εχουσα | <i>Syr</i> S <i>gig h aeth Prim</i> and NC 95-127 and 146 <i>txt & com.</i> |
| 6. | ειχε <i>pro</i> εχει | <i>Syr</i> S Σ <i>h</i> and 38. |
| xiii. 2. | - στομα <i>sec</i> | <i>Syr</i> S <i>aeth arm aliq</i> 38, 59, 69, 114, 130. |
| xiv. 19. | επι της γης (<i>pro</i> εις την γην). | <i>Syr</i> S N 38, 97. |
| xvi. 15. | ερχεται (<i>pro</i> ερχομαι) | <i>Syr</i> S <i>arm</i> ³ <i>Prim</i> N ³ 38, 47. |
| xviii. 12. | μαργαριτων | <i>Syr Prim gig boh</i> ^{1/2} N <i>fam</i> 35 (partly), 59, 95-127, 111, 113, 159. |
| 23. | - εν <i>prim</i> | <i>Syr</i> S <i>Prim gig</i> and C. |
| xix. 14. | ενδεδυμενοις | <i>Syr</i> S N 113, 152. |
| xx. 2. | ο οφεις ο αρχαιος | <i>Syr</i> S Σ <i>copt</i> and A. |

11. + αυτου *post* προσωπου *Syr S copt aeth latt et verss*
56, 67, 95, 114, 120, 127,
146, 149, 155, 200.
- xxi. 6. γεγονασιν *Syr S* 38, 56, 127, 146 *txt &*
com 159.
7. - αυτος *Syr S A* 127, 159.
16. + αυτης *post* πλατος *sec* *Syr S Hier aeth copt* and 18,
39, 143.
- xxii. 2. καρπους *pro* του καρπον *113₁ syr S* alone with **N** 65 *τους*
καρπους.
9. ὅρα · μὴ συνδουλος σου εἶμι *Syr S* and 120,¹ 137, 143, 156.

and this bears directly on the question of an old, if not original græco-syriac recension or redaction.

There is further sympathy with *syr S* by 38, where 178 is wanting (XVII. 1/14) notably - ονομα fifth verse, 38, 97-122, 146 *com* and *syr S*, sixth verse θαυμα μεγα ιδων αυτην **N** 38 *syr S*.

The MS. is wanting XVII. 1-14 and XXII. 16 to the end. Otherwise complete.

It is easily identified with 38 from the following (a few out of 43 places):—

- i. 11. φωνούσης *pro* λεγουσης.
ii. 20. ποθεῖς *pro* εας.
iii. 5. απαλειψω *pro* εξαλειψω.
ix. 17. - ουτως.
19. ἦν *pro* εισιν.
20. τω δαιμονι *pro* τα δαιμονια.
x. 2. κατεχων *pro* και εχων.
xi. 5. ὅστις *pro* εἰ τις *sec* = *copt syr S*.
{ 11. εισελθη *pro* εισηλθεν.
Ibid. στήσονται *pro* εστησαν.
Ibid. επιπεσειται *pro* επεσεν.
12. ακουσονται *pro* ηκουσαν.
xii. 4. παιδιον *pro* τεκνον.
xix. 3. ειπον *pro* ειρηκαν.

besides the + και ελεγχω σε (*post* εμεσαι) at iii. 16 referred to already in a previous article.

The MS. holds our attention from the start, because, besides + του κυριου ημων (*post* αποκαλυψις) in i. 1 with 12 alone, we find the unusual τον λογον for τους λογους at i. 3 with **NB** 32, 100,

102, 130, 154, *arm*, and ἡμῶν for ἡμᾶς at i. 6 with A *Oxyr* 1079, 38, 130, 146 and a very few.

At ii. 3 the scribe ceases at δια το ονομα μου omitting κεκοπιακας και ου κεκημηκας *in toto*, thus alone with *Victorin*.

At ii. 5 we read μνημονευσον ουν with 38, 81, 130.

The original reading was probably μνημονευσον without ουν (instead of μνημονευε ουν). Observe *syr S* and *Prim* omit ουν.

At the VIth chapter we find special agreement with the *Meteora MS.*, our 200, *viz.* at

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| vi. 8. | οπισω αυτου <i>pro</i> μετ αυτου | = 200 (146) and <i>coptic</i> . |
| 11. | τινα <i>pro</i> ετι | = 200 (38 has ετι + τινα). |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | εως αν <i>pro</i> εως ου | = 200. |

In the next chapters VII. and VIII. we pick up F, which is extant there :

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| vii. 16. | πεσεῖται <i>pro</i> πέση | with F <i>pauc</i> (38 = πεσηται). |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | - ο <i>ante</i> ηλιος | „ F 38, 59, 73, 80-138, 200. |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | - παν | „ F alone. |
| viii. 2. | - τους | „ F <i>fam</i> 46 and 58. |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | ἐστήκεσαν | „ F 9-13-27, 75 (εστηκεισαν 38, etc.). |
| 3. | ἔστη | „ F <i>fam</i> 62, 149. |
| 4. | + του θρονου <i>ante</i> του θεου | „ F <i>solo</i> . |
| 10. | ωσπερ <i>pro</i> ως | „ F <i>solo</i> . |
| 11. | ὥς <i>pro</i> εἰς | „ F 81, 200 <i>h copt syr S Prim</i> . |

It has no direct affiliation with the important MS. 56 as a whole, yet at XXII. 14 it runs with the small group NA 38 for οι πλυνοντες τας στολας αυτων in place of οι ποιουντες τας εντολας αυτου and the conflation of the two readings in 56.

Its composite character can be seen from the following. Some of them, however, will bear the closest and most intelligent scrutiny :—

- | | | |
|---------|--|--|
| i. 8. | + και <i>ante</i> ο παντοκρατωρ | With <i>fam</i> 25 as a whole only. Possibly Latin version influence is responsible from misreading "venturus est omnipotens." |
| 9. | εν ιησου <i>pro</i> ιησου χριστου <i>pr.</i> | NCP 38, 111, 143, 146 <i>com gig copt Dionys</i> . |
| ii. 10. | μεχρι <i>pro</i> αχρι | 22, 38, 113, 159. |

- ii. 14. — *οτι* C 111, 130, 146 *Prim.*
 21. — *και ου μετενοησεν* 12, 49, 59, 114, 121, 152, 159.
 iii. 2. *γενου pro γινου* 130 (148), 200.
 4. *αλλα εχεις ολιγα ονοματα* NCA 38, 130, 200.
 iv. 1 *init.* + *και* 146, 200 *aeth arm plur boh duo*
 (*vell boh + δε*).
 3. *ομοια ως ορασις σμαραγδου* 47 (*cf.* 38).
 4. *εν λευκοις (— ιματιοις)* N 130, 143, 200.
 8. — *και εσωθεν* 28, 38, 59, 98, 103-112, 121.
 v. 13. — *α εστι* N *fam* 21, 38, 47, 111*, 113,
 159 *gig.*
 vii. 3. *και pro μητε prim* A 38, 106 *copt.*
 11. + *αγιοι ante αγγελοι* 28 (*vide infra viii. 3 et alibi*).
 12. — *και η σοφια* A 113, 121, 164 *arm*⁴.
 13. *τας λευκας στολας* *Fam* 21 *et* 200.
 viii. 3. *επεδοθη pro εδοθη* 28 *only*.
 ix. 7. — *ως prim* 28, 59, 113, 152*.
 10. *ειχον pro εχουσιν* 38 *fam* 119, 200.
 11. + *ρησει post ελληνικη* 38 *fam* 119 (+ *γλωσση* 200
h gig Prim.).
 13. — *τεσσαρων* N^a A 18 *fam* 21, 111, 146 *txt*
& com 149 *copt latt aliq.*
 17. — *και ante εκ των στοματων* 4 *Anon.*
Ibid. *εξεπορευετο (pro εκπορευεται)* 38 *fam* 119.
 21. *πονηριας pro πορνειας* N* A. 178 is the first cursive
 to join NA for this.

It is immediately followed by *βλεμματων* for *κλεμματων*, which is new. Observe *sah syr S* and *Prim* omit the clause, and are therefore not available for comparison.

- x. 1. *στυλος pro στυλοι* 38, 46-88-101-137, 67-120, 91,
 109 *arm.*
 9. *βιβλιον pro βιβλαριδιον* N 127, 130, 146. [This must
 be original. Even 38 has
 been harmonised here.]
Ibid. *καρδιαν pro κοιλιαν* A 63.
 10. — *γλυκυ* 59 (*cf. syr S in ver. 9*).
 xi. 6. *βρεξη (pro βρεχη)* 146 *txt & Hipp* (146 *com et*
 200 *βρεξει*).
 18. + *σου post αγιοις* 38, 61, 74, 126, 164.
 xii. 6. + *αυτη post ητοιμασμενον* 36, 200 *boh aeth.*
 xiii. 8. + *αυτου ante εν* CA 130, 146 (*vide supra ii. 14,*
iii. 4).

13. εκ του ουρανου καταβαινειν (C)A 56, 111, 127.
 16. και pro η 1*-12, 38, 81, 113 sah boh arm.
 17. το χαραγμα του θηριου · η το } N 38 *copi.*
 ονομα αυτου ·
 xiv. 6. ευαγγελισασθαι (N) *aliq* [non 38].
 8. η μεγαλη πολις 130 *solus et aeth.*
 15. + αυτου *post ναου* N *aeth.*
 xv. 6. λιθον pro λινον CA 38* *marg* 48 [non *rel fam*],
 146 *txt & com.*
 xvi. 2. πονηρον και κακον (pro κακον) N *solus inter græcos* (h =
 και πονηρον) } *saevum et malum*.
 10. απο pro εκ NE. 17, 67-120.
 13. ωσει βατραχοι *Fam* 119 (*cf. N**).
 xviii. 9. ιδωσι pro βλεπωσι N *only*.
 xx. 9. απο pro εκ 18 (*syr*).
 11. επανω pro επ N 38 *syr*.
 xxi. 6. λεγει pro ειπε N 47.
 9. ο πρωτος pro εις *Fam* 35 (*partim*), 38.

Taking the last eight instances in connection with the mutations of singular for plural and vice versa, it seems to indicate version influence. Observe also XVI. 11 *εβλασφημουν* for *εβλασφημησαν* = *gig blasphemabant*.

All the above are interesting but it shows how far apart were the recensions *before the time of N*, and "the true text" is no longer to be found at Patmos but is scattered through our documents.

Here are the readings which appear so far to be *unique* :—

- i. 17. - ειμι.
 18. + ως *ante νεκρος* = 200 (+ ωσει 114 *aeth, contra Iren*).
 20. - επτα *quart. ante εκκλ.* So boh A* *sol* and 146.
 ii. 1. εν τη δεξια χειρι (- αυτου). (31, 164.)
 11. + το αγιον *post πνευμα*.
 15. την διδαχην κρατουντας. (- κρατουντας 113.)
 25. ἄχρισ ὁ ταν ἤξω.
 iii. 3. ως pro πως.
 Ibid. + και *ante ηξω prim.*
 14. της εν λαοδικειων εκκλησια. *Cf. Tert de eccl. generaliter.*
 18. πολλα pro λευκα.
 iv. 1. μετ εμου λαλουσα λεγων (pro λαλουσης μετεμου λεγουσα).
 4. - εικοσι και τεσσαρες. (So 164.)
 7. + ο *ante ανθρωπος*.

- v. 1. + εν *ante* σφραγισιν.
vi. 1. μιαν φωνην *pro* εως.
11. ἕως ἂν *pro* ἕως οὐ. (So now *Apos.* 200.)
Ibid. + μετ' αὐτους *ante* ὡς και αὐτοι. Cf. **N***^{sol} + υπο αὐτων.
17 *fin.* + (*de nouo*) και παν ορος κ.τ.λ. *ex vers* 14/15 *usque ad* και
οι πλουσιοι και οι χιλιαρχοι, *pergens* vii. 1 και μετα
τουτο (*sic*).
vii. 15. του θεου *pro* αὐτου.
viii. 8. - μεγα.
ix. 1. ο δε πεμπτος *pro* και ο πεμπτος.
4. μηδε *pro* ουδε *his*. So now 130, 200.
5. ερρεθη *pro* εδοθη.
11. εχοντες *pro* εχουσιν.
14. τῇ ψάμμω τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου εὐφράτου *pro* τῷ ποταμῷ
τῷ μεγαλῷ ευφρατῇ. [*Hiat boh hoc loco.*]
16. δισμυριαδας.
21. βλεμματων *pro* κλεμματων.
x. 9. ὡς μελι γλυκυ. (ὡς μελι γλυκαζων 113.)
xi. 6. ἔξουσι *pro* εχουσιν *prim.*
Ibid. ἔξουσι *pro* εχουσιν *sec.*
9. ἀφίωνται.
Ibid. fin. μνημεῖα (*pro* μνηματα). So 111, and μνημειον 36 *pro* μνημα.
Ibid. fin. Post μνημεια + επι ημερας τρεις ημισυ.
Vers. 14. *Ita* : "παρῆλθε δὲ ἡ δευτέρα ὀργή· καὶ παρεγένετο συντόμως
ἡ τρίτη" (- ταχυ, - ιδου). Cf. *aeth.*
18. - τον (*vid.*) *ante* μισθον.
xii. 4. σύρουσα *pro* συρει.
10. εγενετο *pro* ηκουσα.
Ibid. εν τῷ οὐνῶ· λεγουσα. (Cf. 56, *fam* 119; cf. *copt.*) (εκ του
ουρανου λεγουσα 113.)
14. [οπου] ἐτρέφετο.
Ibid. [και] το ημισυ [καιρου]. Cf. *copt.*
xiii. 2. το αναβαινον (*pro* δ).
Ibid. + και *post* ειδον.
4. αὐτῷ τῷ δράκοντι· *pro* τον δρακοντα. New thus with αὐτῷ.
8. οὐαὶ οὐαὶ· οὐ οὐ *sic et solus*, sed cf. A ουαι *pro* ων ου.
12. τριτον *pro* πρωτον.
xv. 3. μεγαλα τα εργα σου και θαυμαστα. (= *copt.*)
4. τισ σε ου μη, φοβηθη [= 200]. (Cf. 130; cf. **N** 95, 127;
cf. 89.)
5. [μετα] - ταυτα *vid.*
xvi. 1. + ὠδε *post* υπαγετε. *Forsan ex errore oculi ex copt.*
(χωω = εκχεατε.)

- xvi. 6. *εδωκαν [πιειν]. Cf. 130 εδωκεν.*
 9. *αυτω δουναι δοξαν.*
 18. *ουτως μεγας σεισμος.*
 xvii. 15. *επικαθηται pro καθηται. (Cf. 170 et syr S.)*
 xviii. 7. *τοσουτον βασανισμον δοτε αυτη.*
 8. *κατακλῡσθήσεται pro κατακαυθησεται ("deluged with fire").*
Ibid. ο ισχυρος κυριος.
 14. *σου της επιθυμιας της ψυχης σου. (Cf. NCAP 95, 127, 130.)*
 19. *ελεγον pro λεγοντες. (Cf. aeth.)*
 20. *αιμα pro κριμα.*
 21. *+ εν αυτη ante ετι. (+ εν αυτη post ετι NB 14-92.)*
 22. *κιθαρω̃ν pro κιθαρωδων. So 124. (Cf. syr S.)*
Ibid. ετι εν σοι *secundo loco* [non *prim. tert*].
 xix. 5. *εξηλθεν απο του θρονου pro εκ του θρονου εξηλθε. So 111*
(= copt).
 6. *[βροντων] ισχυραν.*
 20. *+ και ante επλανησε.*
 xxi. 2. *ωσει pro ως.*
 3. *[και αυτος ο θεος εσται μετ αυτων] εσται αυτων θεος pro θεος αυτων κ.τ.λ. Cf. A 65 et 12.*
 10. *+ την ante ιλημ.*
 11. *+ και post ιασπιδι. (Cf. copt + εςοι "being of" et syr: ως ομοιως; cf. 143 ἡ ἀσπίδι ἡ κρυσταλ.)*
 23. *ουτε pro ουδε.*
 24. *οισουσι pro φερουσι. (Cf. ver. 26.) φορεσωσιν 200.*
 xxii. 1. *υδατων pro υδατος = syr Σ.*
 2. *καρπους pro τον καρπον. So 113; cf. syr S et NB 65 τους καρπους.*

A study of the above is not such as to inspire confidence in the "detached" character of the recension. Yet with all its faults the MS. is highly interesting.

The 38-178 recension does not seem to favour Coptic as a whole, yet, at times, the only clues available as to unique readings go back again to Coptic, or possibly to the "underlying" Greek text of those versions. Strange readings, however, which at first sight we should look for in Coptic or Syriac or Latin are *not* to be found there.

We have evidently to do with a composite base, and a good deal of retranslation or version influence. I cannot expect my readers to share my views as fully as I could wish in this respect without taking them laboriously all over the ground of the syriacising and latinising

Greek MSS. which have preceded this study. I hope, however, they may gradually come to see that I am not perversely afflicted with any wish to over-emphasise this. I simply cannot get away from it.

[Since this article was written I have been fortunate enough to come across another MS. of this group, which supplies the parts missing in 178, and we thus recover for the Patmos MS. two readings of most significant age, for at XVII. 2 we are to read *εποιησαν πορνειαν* for *επορνευσαν*, and at XXII. 20 + *ειναι* before *ναι prim.*, both readings so far ONLY known in **N**.]

THE OLD SYRO-GREEK RECENSION.

Besides 38-178, there are other prominent MSS. which are of a syriacising character, as the 21 group, the 119 group, and more particularly the MSS. 18 and 40, not to speak of our eclectic 36.

I regard the MSS. 18 and 40 as bilingual Græco-Syriacs from the time of their original archetype, and the same is probably true of the five-fold 119 group, now consisting of 119-123-144-148-158 (which is the most ancient stem of the 1 or *textus receptus* family). Concerning such MSS. as eclectic 36, and important 56, 113, 130, and 200, their Syriac element doubtless traces to the common base of *syr S*, be that Greek or Græco-Syriac.

Other few MSS. such as 59 (which has a sister 121) also have a deep Syriac trend at times, but this MS. has been much reworked and we cannot particularly lay stress on the Syriac element alone.

However 59 is a confirmed and inveterate retranslator. For instance, at IX. 5 concerning the scorpion's sting, he strikes a new chord. We have already had the variations

<i>παίση</i>	by t.r. and many,
<i>πέση</i>	by NABP (<i>hiant</i> CE) and many,
<i>πέση επ'</i>	by <i>syr S</i> ,
<i>πλήξη</i>	by the Complutensian group,
and <i>δάκη</i>	by 23 and 55 (<i>cf.</i> Amos V. 19 Septuagint),

but it is left for 59-121 to ring another change, for they write :

κρούση.

Of course there remain still plenty of synonyms in the rich Greek language for the scribes to have toyed with, such as the verbs *κροτέω*

(a variation of the above κρούω), θείνω, βάλλω or ἐμβάλλω, κόπτω, ἐλαύνω, ἐλελίζω, πατάσσω (used elsewhere in Apoc.), σποδέω, κυρηβάζω, ἐμπίπτω (practically used by *syr S*), προσπταιω, etc.

It seems curious why the matter of the scorpion's sting should have fascinated the scribes and caused them to improvise here. While they were about it, why not have used the verbs φλάω or ἀράσσω or ἀμύσσω or ἱμάσσω (as with lightning). They are good strong words, like the δάκη of the Septuagint in Amos V. 19 (of a serpent biting). This δάκη of 23-55 is a retransliteration of the sahidic and bohairic, both having this form here.

Doubtless it was to emphasise the fact that we were not to read simple πέση like the uncials, as these were supposed by the scribes to have committed παίση to writing in the form of an itacism.

As regards our 59 there cannot have been alternative readings in his exemplar for he gives no marginal readings whatever, and his curious but interesting text flows along perfectly smoothly with elaborate chapter headings, as if it were a regular standard. Therefore the fault of eclecticism and retranslation belongs to the parents of the MS., nor do the new readings come from the commentary. And this was an ancient text, preceding B, to which the MS. has been perhaps partially conformed. Thus, at XIX. 12 the omission of ὥς before φλόξ πυρός with **NBPE** etc., is a good combination with *Hirb* (but not *syr S* nor *Iren*). It is the harder reading but no doubt correct, and ὥς was only imported from a sense of want, or from the commentary. For the commentary clearly recognises its *absence* in a way, the text of it running thus :

“το ἄγνωστον τοῦ ὀνόματος, τὸ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ σημαίνει ἀκατάληπτον. ταῖς γὰρ οἰκονομίαις ὧν πολύνυμος· ὥς ἀγαθὸς· ὥς ποιμὴν· ὥς ἥλιος· ὥς φῶς· ὥς ζῶή· ὥς δικαιοσύνη· ὥς ἁγιασμός· ὥς ἀπολύτρωσις . . . ὥς ἄφθαρτος· ὥς ἀόρατος· ὥς ἀθάνατος· ὥς ἀναλλοίωτος . . .”

But to return to *syr S*. Here is unique agreement of order by 59 and *syr S* in X. 8 : ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ; and of the omission of τῆς φωνῆς at X. 7 the only support being by 146 ; and at VI. 9 τὴν σφραγιδα τὴν πεμπτὴν the same plus 14-92 (another partial syriaciser) with the important MSS. 111 and 130 ; VIII. 13 – λοιπὼν *syr S*. Observe that 59 omits and adds later in

the verse ; XII. 6 — *εκει ante τρεφωσιν* 14-92, 59, 130 *syr* S and *h* only ; and at XIII. 17 — *δυνηται* by *syr* S and 59 absolutely alone together ; and at XIV. 14 *επι την χειρα προ εν τη χειρι* 59 and *syr* S quite alone ; also at XVIII. 12 our 59 joins the small group for *μαργαριτων* and at VIII. 13 for omission of *και ειδον*.

Family 119 [quite unknown to Gwynn].

As to the family 119 agreeing with *syr* S, we find a very curious place, *viz.* VI. 12, where they write *ως ασκος* instead of *ως σακκος*, a change so infinitesimal in the Syriac word there signifying the difference between the two words that Gwynn left *σακκος* in his text. The sense of the passage :

“ *καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς . . .* ”

undoubtedly calls for *σάκκος* but here not only does the whole five-fold family without exception, 119-123-144-148-158, witness to *ασκος* but *in other respects also* is quite close to the Syriac. Thus, not only have we a large Syriac sympathy, but the very Syriac *order of words* stares us in the face. Consider :

- | | | |
|------------|------------------------------------|---|
| ix. 20. | <i>και τα ξυλινα και τα λιθινα</i> | With <i>syr</i> S, N and <i>boh</i> and no others. |
| xii. 3. | <i>σημειον αλλον</i> | Quite alone among Greeks with <i>syr</i> . |
| xviii. 21. | <i>λιθον μεγαλιν ως μυλον</i> | Alone as a family plus 32 and 149 with <i>syr</i> . |

(And notice this feature beyond as to Apoc. 40 at III. 2 *πεπληρωμενα τα εργα*, and above as to 59 at X. 8, and beyond again under 36. Group all these places for the true picture.)

Even *φαιων* (I. 16) of Irenaeus' translator (who seems to have obtained this from his Greek *via* the Syriac or *via* a Græco-Syriac bilingual), found in *fam* 119 and also in 111 (for *φαινει*), seems to trace to Syriac construction ; and, going further, we are struck by a *substitution* of *τουτο* for *το βιβλιον* in V. 8, doubtless due to Syriac form : “ it, the book.”

Confusion of cases also (with that visible throughout 56) looks like retranslation at some time, as at XVIII. 5, the genitive (alone

among MSS. with 113) των αδικημάτων for the accusative τα αδικήματα, but this may merely have reference to N.T. Greek.¹

Are we face to face with an older Syriac, underlying *syr* S?

It is fair to ask this question, for at times *syr* S and *syr* Σ have points in common not recorded by any Greek MSS., and not due to Syriac peculiarities.

Note further at XV. 6 περι dropped after the compound περιέζωσμενοι.

Also the singular at XVI. 14 πνευμα, XVIII. 13 θυμιαμα, due perhaps to absence of diacritic points in the ancient Syriac.

Note a certain well-weighed character of retranslation in our family reading at X. 3 of βρυχάται for the usual μυκάται, perhaps influenced by the commentary, where we find “βρυγμω λεοντος.” But this is revision, as some censor thought the writer of the Apoc. did not remember that a lion: “βρυχᾶται” while an ox: “μυκᾶται.” In other words a bit of high-flown modern criticism!

Note further, perhaps, εἶχον (with 38-178 and 200 in verse 10) for εχουσιν at IX. 10, 11, where the Syriac is: “there is to them,” as the fleury palimpsest *h*: “caudae vero sicut scorpionum erat,” as against the “habent” of *gigas* (*male* Belsheim “habebant”).

But, in order to obviate for the reader any hesitation in accepting my views on the subject, I append a list of other important places where *fam* 119 is with the Syriac, *viz.*:

i. 7. οφονται *pro* οφεται

With **N** 111, 113, 114 (plus 1-12, branch of the 119 *fam*) and *syr*, confirmed at once at i. 9 by the addition of υμων after συγκοινωνος, hitherto unique among our Greek codices, but witnessed to by both *syr* S and *syr* Σ!

¹ While the accusative or even the dative is permissible after μνημονευω, even New Testament Greek generally favours the genitive, only St. Matthew using the accusative (XVI. 9 μνημονευετε τους πεντε αρτους), which St. Mark (VIII. 18) turns by: μνημονευετε οτε τους πεντε αρτους . . ., and St. Paul once (2 Tim. II. 8): μνημονευε ιησουν χρισταν εγγεγερμενον εκ νεκρων. Otherwise St. Luke, St. John (XV. 20 του λογον, XVI. 4 αυτων, XVI. 21 της θλιψεως) and St. Paul elsewhere all use the genitive.

The enallage of cases is, however, an uncertain matter.

ii. 5.	— εκ του τοπου αυτης	Alone with <i>syr S</i> .
vii. 10.	+ και ante λεγοντες	Alone with <i>syr S</i> .
viii. 13.	— και ειδον	With <i>syr S</i> and other members of the 1 family.
xi. 10.	χαρησονται	With <i>syr S</i> and only 38-178 with 146 <i>com</i> .
xii. 10.	— και η εξουσια του χριστου	By 119* and <i>syr S</i> (but not countenanced by the other members of the 119 group).
xiii. 13.	επι pro εις	With <i>syr SΣ</i> <i>copt aeth</i> and only 56 of the other Greeks.
xvi. 18.	— και φωναι	With <i>syr S</i> and other members of <i>fam 1</i> .
xvii. 8.	υπαγει pro υπαγειν	So A and very few Greeks with <i>syr S Iren</i> and <i>gig</i> .
xix. 18.	— παντων	With <i>syr S</i> and only a few other members of <i>fam 1</i> .
xx. 8.	+ και ante συναγαγειν	With <i>syr S</i> and certain other cursives.
xxii. 1.	+ και ante λαμπρον	With <i>syr S</i> quite alone.

Note also that the 119 recension *precedes* the first hand of **N**, for at IX. 20 where the 119 group *substitutes* αυτων for ταυταις, **N** has already *conflated* the two readings and wrote αυτων ταυταις, i.e. : “ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς αὐτῶν ταύταις.”

As to 18.

In 1898 I had *sixty-nine* unique readings for Apoc. 18. These are now reduced to a handful, and the following is the new notable support :—

i. 5.	— ημας <i>prim</i>	143.
iv. 8.	+ και ante κυκλοθεν	56 (+ και εν 143).
vii. 4.	— εσφραγισμενοι	130, 146 <i>syr S</i> .
vii. 15 <i>fin</i> .	επ αυτοις	36.
17.	+ και ante πηγας	<i>Syr S</i> .
ix. 8.	+ οδοντες ante λεοντων	<i>h</i> (the fourth century Fleury palimpsest).
11.	+ ωι ante ονομα	<i>h</i> and <i>syr S</i> (+ ο N).
16.	δισμυριων μυριαδων pro δις- μυριαδες μυριαδων	} (N).
ix. 18 <i>init</i> .	και απο (pro απο vel υπο)	<i>Syr S copt</i> .

And XXII. 2 δυο και δεκα for δωδεκα remains alone (only 72 has δυοδεκα). XXII. 8 επεβλεψα *pro* εβλεψα.

As to the *age* of the recension, compare a few of the readings occurring in *sole conjunction* with **N**, as at :

- iv. 1. + ιδου *ante* η φωνη.
- x. 4. οσα *pro* α.
- xv. 7. - επτα *sec*.
- xx. 10. + οπου *ante* ο ψευδοπροφητης. (To which add *sah*.)
- 12. ταις βιβλοις *pro* τοις βιβλοις.
- xxii. 5. ουκ εχουσι(ν) χρεian (*pro* χρεian ουκ εχουσι). To which add 56-108 and A (ουχ), while 143 writes ουκ εξουσιν χρεian as Gwynn translates for *syr* S (with 127 and 146-155, merely substituting ουχ) and *gig* "non egebunt" (neque opus erit *Prim*) and you have a most ancient combination of **NA** 18, 56-108, 127, 143, 146, *syr* S *gig Prim* for the order.
- 11. και ο ρυπαρος ρυπανθητω επι. To which add (113) and 130, *syr* S Gwynn.
- 20. - αμην. To which add 143, 146 *gig copt syr* S.

The same applies to relation with exceptional readings of A :

- ix. 13. κερατων (- τεσσαρων). A 18 and 111, 146 *copt latt aliq*.
- xxi. 13. The order : και απο βορ(ρ)α . . . και απο δυσμων . . . και απο νοτου. A 18 remain alone.
- xxii. 16. εν ταις εκκλησαις *pro* επι ταις εκκλ. A 18, a few more, and *latt copt*.

And once with C at :

- xviii. 12. και παν σκευος ξυλου (- εκ) τιμωτατου. C 18, to which add 111, 113, 146.

And **NC** in combination at :

- vi. 17. αυτων *pro* αυτου. **NC** 18 and also 38, 111, 130, 146, 178, 200 *syr* S and Σ *latt*.

And **NA** in combination at :

- xxi. 3. θρονου *pro* ουρανου. **NA** 18, no other cursives, but *Iren Ambr Aug vg*.
- xxii. 5. + φωτος *ante* λυχνου. **NA** 18 and 56-108, 127, 200 (*syr* S).

Note finally this at :

- xi. 8. ἐπὶ τῶν πλατειῶν *pro* ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας. *Syr S*, while 18 adds τῶν ὁδῶν, actually having: ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῶν ὁδῶν.

As to 40.

In 1906 I had about *eighty* unique readings for 40. These are now considerably reduced, and the following have now this support:—

- | | | |
|---------------------|--|--|
| i. 3. | ακουῶν (<i>pro</i> οἱ ακουοντες) | 113, 146-155 <i>h vg aeth arm</i> . |
| iii. 2. | πεπληρωμένα τα εργα | Order of <i>syr S</i> only. |
| 19. | — εαν | 59, 121 <i>gig syr S</i> . |
| iv. 7 <i>init.</i> | — και | 113, 143 <i>syr S Prim</i> (as against all others, for even <i>Irenaeus</i> has <i>enim</i>). |
| 8. | — ανα | 53. (Notice a curious substitution for <i>ανα</i> by <i>syr S</i> of: ἀπο τῶν οὐχῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπανῶ.) |
| v. 13. | + παντα <i>ante</i> τα | 111. |
| vi. 6. | — τεσσαρων | 200 and <i>syr S</i> . |
| 8. | — ονομα αὐτῷ | <i>Arm</i> (<i>cf.</i> curious inversion in <i>syr S</i>). |
| ix. 3. | ἐξουσια ὡς ἐχουσιν (— ἐξουσ-
ιαν <i>seq</i>) | } = 130 <i>syr S Σ</i> and <i>h</i> . |
| 7. | ὡς προσῶπον ἀνθρώπων | = <i>syr S vid</i> (ὡς προσῶπα ἀνθρώπου 113 <i>arm</i>). |
| 8. | — ἦσαν | <i>Syr S h aeth</i> and 21, 164. |
| 11. | αβαδων | <i>Cf.</i> <i>vaβαδδων</i> 111, <i>et βαυδων</i> 146 <i>txt.</i> <i>Nabathdon arm</i> ⁴ . |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | — ονομα <i>sec</i> | <i>Boh arm sah</i> . |
| x. 9. | — αὐτῷ | <i>Arm</i> ⁴ . |
| xi. 11. | — ἐπεσεν | <i>Cf. Prim</i> ; <i>cf. syr S aeth</i> ἐγενετο <i>pro</i> ἐπεσεν; <i>cf. copt.</i> |
| xii. 9. | + και <i>ante</i> ἐβλήθη <i>sec</i> | <i>h gig syr S aeth</i> . |
| 17. | — ἐχοντων | <i>Cf. arm alig.</i> |
| xiii. 4. | προσεκυνησε <i>pro</i> προσεκυνησαν <i>pr. loco</i> with 36 and <i>syr S</i> only. | Gwynn says as to <i>syr S</i> "this is an unsupported and impossible reading," yet both 36 and 40 have it! |
| xiv. 14 <i>fin.</i> | — οξυ | 40; <i>obs.</i> λευκον <i>pro</i> οξυ <i>syr S</i> alone. |

- xvi. 6. - και *secund* Boh.
 xxi. 22. + αυτος *post* θεος Cf. *syr* S + αυτος *ante* ναος.

Again here, as bearing upon retranslation, observe that at :

- i. 9. λεγομενη *pro* καλουμενη 40 remains alone.
 13. ενδεδυμενω and περιεζωσμενω 40 " "
 20. α̇ *pro* ων 40 " "
 x. 1. ωσει *pro* ως 40 " "
 xi. 9 *fin.* εν μνηματι *pro* εις μνημα 40 " " but compare
copt arm syr Σ *aeth* "in
 sepulcro."
 xvii. 11. τουτο *pro* αυτος (referring to } 40 remains alone.
 το θηριου)
 xix. 7. αγαλλιασωμεθα *pro* αγαλλιωμεθα
 or αγαλλιωμεν of all the rest.
 xx. 3. απεσφραγισεν *pro* εσφραγισεν Quite alone.

Notice the repeated singular for plural VII. 3, XIII. 16, XX. 4 of τω μετωπω for των μετωπων. In XIII. 16 C has του μετωπου.

In the somewhat larger combinations we also find *syr* S prominently supporting, as at

- x. 6. - και την θαλασσαν και τα εν αυτη.
 xviii. 8. - ο θεος.

AS TO 36.

I hesitate to emphasise 36 as it is so very eclectic, but here are many *special* agreements with *syr* S, as at :

- xix. 17. αλλον *pro* ενα Only N 36, 113, 146 and *syr* S
 with *sah boh*.
 i. 20. και αι λυχνιαι αι επτα + αι } Only 36, 143 and *syr* S.
 χρυσαι
 ii. 20. η λεγουσα εαυτην προφητων } Only N* 36, 143, 151 and *syr* S.
 + ειναι
 iii. 3. δε *pro* ουν *sec* Only 36, 113 *syr* S and *Prim*.
 6. - ουτως Only 36 and *syr* S (as amended
 by Gwynn).
 16. - ουτως Only 36, 100, 144 *syr* S and
gig and *aeth*.
 17. - και τυφλος *Syr* S and 36 only with 146 *com*.

- ¹ iv. 5. — *πυρος* *Syr S aeth* and 36 only with 159 (and the Clem. vulg. and pseudo-Ambr. [*against* Jerome on Daniel]). This omission goes entirely unnoticed by von Soden.
- v. 3. *εν τη γη* *Syr S* and 36 and *gig* quite alone.
- vii. 16. — *ετι bis* *Syr S* and 36 alone (— *ετι pr.* *N alig copt latt*).
- xiii. 4. (*Primo loco*) *προσεκυνησε pro* } *Syr S* 36 and 40 only.
προσεκυνησαν
17. + *ετι post* *πωλησαι* *Syr S*, + *τι* by 36 and by these only.
- xiv. 14. *λευκον pro* *οξυ* *Syr S*, *οξυ* + *λιαν* by 36. No others change, with the exception of the aforesaid notable Græco-Syriac 40, which (finding a difficulty) *omits* *οξυ* alone among MSS. ¹
- xix. 14. *του ουρανου pro* *εν τω ουρανω* *Syr S* and 36 with 61-126 *gig* and *Iren* (*των ουρανων* 8-24, 114 and 140).

Note singular for plural :

- ix. 17. *του στοματος* 36 *syr S gig* and only 17*, 67-120.
18. *του στοματος* 36 *syr S gig* and only 18 and a few others.

Note a matter of order at :

- vi. 6. *και του οινου και το ελαιον* Only 36, 130 with *syr S* and *latt* (but not *gig*).

And another at :

- xiii. 10. *η πιστις και η υπομονη* 36 and *syr S* quite alone so far,

and observe at V. 9 where *syr S* alone omits *και γλωσσης*, 36 equally alone transfers the words to the end of the verse, evidently having omitted at first on the basis of this recension.

¹ This is an interesting omission for it should help to date the recensions which omit. It looks like revision, for the somewhat tautological character of the basic text probably contained it, and it was eliminated for critical reasons of style. For, if the basic text did not contain it, who would have thought of adding it here?

As regards such MSS. as 14-92, 47, 56, 111, 113, 114,
130, 143, 146, 170, 200.

I have already furnished data in these articles concerning 113, 130, 143, and 200. The others, and notably 56 (to which we cannot possibly do justice here), carry us into the heart of the basic text underlying all, for when 56 agrees with *syr* S it is generally in a small combination and with other versions. The more exceptional readings are nearly all supported by *several* versions, thus taking us back to early times and mixed readings before the text was more or less settled by Church usage.

As to age there is a small place which fixes it far back, as at VII: 16 our 56 adds *ετι* after *ἡλιος*. Thus also *N**, although the first hand *de tempore* corrects himself.

It supports *syr* S at :

- | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------|--|
| vii. 9. | + και ante περιβεβλημενοι | Quite alone. |
| xiii. 13. | επι την γην pro εις την γην | 56 with all <i>fam</i> 119 and <i>copt</i>
<i>aeth.</i> |

at xviii. 13 reads και ιππους,

and enters into the important combination for "the King of the Ages" at XV. 3 (see above under 18), and supports *syr* S alone at XXI. 5 with + *μοι post ειπεν*.

As regards 114 at Rome (which has found a sister in 193 at Jerusalem), we have other striking agreement alone with *syr* S, and the same remark applies to the other MSS. named above, a tabulation of which need not delay us at this point.

SYRIAC AND LATIN ALONE.

Finally here is an exhibition of *syr* S and the *Latin* standing together in constant sympathy APART FROM *any* Greek MSS.

If we suppose a common underlying Greek base as being responsible for this, we must scrap all our Greek MSS. extant !

Is it not more reasonable to suppose that this is a sympathy of interaction between the two, apart from any question of Greek base, which will come in later in Table II. under tripartite agreement ?

TABLE I.

I present the following table, which has involved an immense amount of labour to eliminate all other witnesses.

Of course I exclude many minute matters (and I omit reference to the plural *ᾠτα* for *οὐς* of *syr S* throughout, as the Latins vary, but seem to be the only support), and give the more salient features. Of course *h* is only available in a small section.

Comparison of Gwynn's Greek translation of *syr S* with the *Gigas* MS. and other Latin readings. Amongst other things watch the play of the tenses :

ii. 1 <i>init.</i>	+ και	And + Et by <i>gig</i> and <i>h</i> and <i>Prim.</i>
ii. 5.	- ουκ	So <i>syr S</i> and <i>Prim</i> alone.
iv. 1.	σαλπιγγα	And tubam <i>gig</i> .
v. 9.	λυσαι προ ανοιξαι	<i>Syr S.</i> Observe the "resign-are" of <i>gig</i> against "aperire" of the rest (<i>hiat h</i>).
ix. 7.	το ομοιωμα προ τα ομοιωματα	And <i>gig</i> : similitudo [<i>non h</i>].
11.	αγγελον προ βασιλεα	<i>Syr S.</i> So <i>h</i> "angulum abyssi" (- regem).
x. 7 <i>init.</i>	ουκ προ αλλα	<i>Syr S.</i> Om. αλλα <i>gig</i> and <i>copt</i> alone.
11.	The order: επι εθνεσι και λαοις	<i>Syr S</i> and <i>Σ</i> with <i>vg</i> .
xi. 14.	εληλυθε προ ερχεται	<i>Syr S.</i> So Latin <i>venit</i> , the indeterminate tense, cannot be overlooked in this connection. (<i>Gig</i> reads <i>venit</i> , male <i>Bel-sheim veniet</i> .) See below again.
15 follows close with	εβασιλευσεν προ βασιλευσει	<i>Syr S</i> with <i>gig am</i> "regnavit" for the regnabit of <i>Prim vg</i> .
xii. 2.	κραζουσα προ κραζει	<i>Syr S</i> and so <i>amiatinus</i> "clamans" [<i>non gig h</i>].
10.	ιδου προ αρτι	<i>Syr S.</i> Omit <i>h Fulg.</i> Observe <i>gig Anon</i> "modo" pro "nunc."
12.	καταβαινει προ κατεβη	<i>Syr S.</i> Cf. <i>latt</i> "descendit," indeterminate, as was "venit" above, and as "ascendit" below at <i>xix. 3.</i>

- xii. 17. εχουσι *pro* εχοντων *Syr S* and *latt*, all "habent."
No Greeks.
- xiii. 4. + τουτω *post* θηριω *ult*. *Syr S Prim* (and *copt aeth Iren*).
10. και οστις (*pro* ει τις *sec*) *Syr S Prim* (*Et qui*). [*Non Iren^{int} gig*.]
- [I do not emphasise other single agreement with *Prim*,
such as - χρυσας at xv. 7.]
10. αποκταν θησεται (*pro* αποκταν θηναι) } *Syr S* and *gig* (*interficietur*,
against occidi of *Prim al*).
14. πλανησει *vel* εξαλειψει (*pro* πλανα) } *Syr S*. Cf. *Iren^{int} amiatinus*
"seduct" (*seduxit Prim al*,
seducit gig).
- xiv. 9. + αυτου *post* χαραγμα *Syr S* and *Σ Prim* and *ps-Ambr*.
20. επι *pro* απο *Syr S* and *latt vg Prim*
Anon ps-Ambr, et h: "per
istadio m.d.c." [*non gig* = "a
stadiis"].

[XV. 1. A curious thing occurs here, which will bear mention.
The usual Greek and Latin is :

αγγελους επτα εχοντας πληγας επτα τας εσχατας
and : angelos septem habentes septem plagas novissimas,

but Gwynn says *syr S* has literally αλλας instead of εσχατας while the translator of *syr Σ* almost has it as an *addition* : "illas ultimas," and, upon turning up *h*, we read (without any other Latin or Greek authority) : "illas novissimas" !

See also XXI. 9 where *syr S* repeats this reading, "πληγων των αλλων" for πληγων των εσχατων of all others, and *syr Σ* has again : "plagis hisce postremis".]

The above might be passed by if we did not find such an extraordinary concatenation between Syriac and Latin immediately thereafter at :

XVI. 3 where *syr S* [*non Σ*] substitutes ἡ θαλασσα or mare for αίμα.

Now both *h* and *gig* ADD "mare," and no others make any change.

Gig says : "mare sanguis sicut mortui," and

h says : "mare velut mortuis sanguis,"

the differing order showing deliberation here as to the addition.

Now *Prim.* knows nothing of this, nor any of the Greeks, nor the Coptic. Only *aeth*—(that inveterate connor of evidence)—has : "et factus est sanguis mare."

This, I submit, is very remarkable, occurring in a place so close to XV. 1, and is followed (see next list) by *εγενοντο* for *εγενετο* in the next verse 4, countenanced by *h gig*, but not by *vg*, with the usual imposing array of important Greek cursives together with uncial A (but not *NC*).

And here we may well pause for a moment in order to call attention to a side-light offered by Primasius' commentary.

In XVI. 11 *syr S* seems to substitute gratuitously

και ουκ επανσαντο for *και ου μετενοησαν*,

while the Latins know nothing except the usual "et non egerunt poenitentiam." Primasius' text is not extant but in his commentary we read :

"Iniquitatem in excelso locuti sunt; *supercilio enim momentaneae prosperitatis ut sumus elati, unde poenitendo converti debuerunt, contenebrari laetantur.*"

Is there any connection between the "momentary" matter of *Prim.* and the "pausing" of *syr S*? As a matter of fact *aeth* almost supports the *επανσαντο* of *syr S*, since his translator gives us "resipuerunt"! The Coptics only acknowledge the recognised reading [Horner's new edition of *sah* not in my hands when this is written]. To proceed :

xvi. 16. *Syr S* reads *συναξει* alone (against *syr Σ*, which here has *συνηγαν* alone with *Σ*) for the usual *συνηγαγεν*. It so happens that the *vulgate* (and *ps-Ambr.*) here exhibit congregabit against congregavit of the rest of our known authorities.

18 *fin.* Another curious thing occurs here, where *syr S* alone adds *ην* at the end, thus : *οὕτω μέγας ἦν*. *Syr Σ* is rendered : "talis terraemotus, adeo magnus." There is no *ἦν* anywhere to be found except in *aeth* : "tanta fuit," but the Latin has *sic* for *οὕτω*. Is it possible that "sic," misread "sit" in a polyglot, engendered *ἦν*? *Prim* and *pseudo-Ambr* are not available, omitting the latter part of the verse.

- xvi. 21. Of course we cannot press or even notice, except in passing, the *ὡς τάλαντον* for *ὡς ταλαντιαία* of *syr S*, and the *sicut talentum* of *gig vg ps-Ambr*, although *Prim* expresses "talenti ponderis" suppressing "sicut," and supplying "ingens." *Anon* has "quasi talentum." *Aeth*: "grando quanta sunt talenta," *syr Σ*: "grando magna quasi talenti pondo," as *boh*.
- xvii. 2. + *παντες post εμεθυσθησαν*. Not referred to by Gwynn in his footnotes. It is only supported by the Latin *ps-Ambr* 1/2 and by *Anon contra Fulg* [*Hiat Prim*].
4. *λιθους τιμιους* (*pro λιθω τιμιω*). *Syr S*, and *λιθους τιμιοις* by *syr Σ* translator. The only support is from *Cyprian* in his quotation here: "lapidibus preciosis." The other Latins are against it, even *Tertullian*, extant here.
16. Observe a curious point which now occurs. *Syr S* has the equivalent of *επισκεψονται* for *μησησουσι* (*την πορνην*). No support. But, instead of the "odient" of *gig*, *Prim* writes "odio infectabant." It is possible *syr S* has left out a word for "scorn" here, but part of the *armenian MSS.* have the equivalent of "shall judge."
- xviii. 4. *της πληγης* (*pro των πληγων*). *Syr S*, as *gig* "de plaga" only (*aeth plagae*).
7. - *αυτῇ post δοτε*. *Gig* and *syr S*, but *syr S* also omits *δοτε*. No others, however, omit *αυτῇ* or *ei*.
12. *και παν σκευος εκ ξυλου τιμιον* (*pro τιμιωτατου*). *Syr S* and *gig*: "et omne vas eburneum preciosum," agreeing with *σκευος*. *Prim* has "de precioso ligno."
17. *εν τη θαλασση* *syr S* and "in mari" *gig* and *latt* for *την θαλασσαν* of all Greeks.
23. *εν ταις φαρμακειαις* plural *syr S*, and so all *latt*, against all Greeks singular *εν τη φαρμακεια*.
- xix. 9. + *εισι ante κεκλημενοι*. Cf. all *latt*: "vocati sunt."
- xx. 7. - *τα ante χιλια ετη*. *Syr S* [*non Σ*: "illi mille anni"]. *Latt omn*. "mille anni."
13. *εκριθη* (*pro εκριθησαν*). *Syr S* [*non Σ*] *et vg et ps-Ambr* "judicatum est" [*non rell latt*].
- xxi. 4. *εσται ετι secund.* (- *ουκ*). *Syr S*, and thus *gig* and *latt*.
17. *μετρω ανθρωπου*. *Syr S*, and "mensur^h hominis" *gig* and *latt* (as against all Greeks *μετρον*, except *fam* 103 *μετρων*).
23. + *εστι* (*ante το αρνιον*). *Syr S* only and the Latins *gig Prim Hier ps-Ambr Anon* and *vg*. Greek No. 41 alone adds *εστι*, but against its own family, so I exclude it from the Greek table to follow.

- xxii. 9. + τουτους *post* τηρουντων. *Syr S*. So *gig* and *latt* (not *Prim*): "eorum qui servant."
 17. - ο θελων. *Syr S* and so *gigas*: "Et qui sitit veniat ^ accipiat aquam."

Note.—Of course the above tabulation would be much more compelling if we had exhibited in more detail the huge evidence *against* these readings, but we have no space for this.

TABLE II.

Now observe the adherence of **N** and some other important Greek documents to the grouplet of *syr* and *lat*:

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|
| iii. 3. | - ουν <i>prim</i> | N 14, 16, 69 <i>syr S gig</i> only. |
| 8. | τα εργα σου (<i>pro</i> σου τα εργα) | Only N and <i>syr lat</i> (τα εργα σα 113 <i>vid</i>). |
| v. 9. | αδοντες (<i>pro</i> και αδουσιν) | So <i>syr</i> and only <i>Prim</i> : "cantantes." |
| 13. | εν τη θαλασση (<i>pro</i> επι της θαλασσης) | N only and <i>latt</i> with <i>syr S</i> and Σ . |
| <i>Ibid.</i> | + και (<i>ante</i> ηκουσα) | N <i>alig</i> <i>syr S</i> and <i>gig</i> . |
| N.B. vi. 17. | αυτων (<i>pro</i> αυτου) changing the sense. | N C 18, 38-178, 111, 130, 146, 200 (<i>hiat</i> 143) <i>syr S</i> and Σ <i>gig</i> and <i>latt</i> . |
| vii. 9. | - και ιδου | A(C) <i>syr S sah boh latt</i> . |
| viii. 11. | ως (<i>pro</i> εις) | F 178 <i>syr S h Prim</i> and <i>copt</i> [non <i>gig</i>]. |
| ix. 8 <i>fin.</i> | - ησαν | 21, 40, 73, 164 and <i>h</i> [non <i>gig</i>] <i>aeth syr S</i> . |
| 17. | του στοματος (<i>pro</i> των στοματων) | { 17, 36, 67-120 <i>syr S gig</i> (and again <i>gig</i> at ix. 18 with <i>syr S</i> and some others). |
| x. 3. | ταις εαυτων φωναις | N <i>fam</i> 7 <i>syr S</i> and <i>gig</i> . |
| 8. | φωνην (<i>pro</i> η φωνη ην) | 121, 127, 146 <i>fam</i> 7 <i>syr S</i> and <i>latt</i> . |
| xi. 4. | - εστωσαι | 159 quite alone with <i>Prim</i> and <i>Auct deprom.</i> quite definitely. |
| xii. 2. | + και <i>post</i> εχουσα | N C 95-127, 146, 178 <i>syr S</i> and <i>h gig Prim aeth</i> only. |
| 9. | + και <i>ante</i> εβληθη <i>sec</i> | 40 <i>syr S gig h</i> and <i>aeth</i> . |
| xiii. 10. | - δει αυτου | 81, 124, <i>syr S gig</i> and <i>copt</i> . |
| xiv. 3. | + ενωπιον (<i>ante</i> των προ-βυτερων) | N <i>gig syr S</i> only. |

8. + αυτω (*post ηκολ.*) 113 *syr S* and Σ *Prim* and *copt.*
 18. + ο (*ante εχων*) CA 200 *syr S* and Σ *gig vg*
 [*non h Prim*].
Ibid. φωνη *pro κραυγη* \aleph AB *aliq syr S* [*non Σ*] *gig h*
 [*Hiat Prim*].
 xvi. 4. εγενοντο *pro εγενετο* A 36, 56, 95-127, 100, 111, 130,
 146, 149, 200 *syr S Σ aeth*
 copt Prim gig h [*non vg*].
 xvii. 15. ἐφ' ὧν *vel* ἐφ' οἷς (*pro οὖ syr S* [*contra syr Σ*], referring to τὰ
 ὑδατα). Thus only 170 *marg*, 146 *com*, and "super
 quas" by *Prim Cypr Aug Fulg al vett* and *copt*,
 contra gig vg ps-Ambr et Anon "ubi."
 xviii. 7 *init.* οσον 92* and *fam* 62 (*pro οσα*). Observe ἐφ' οσον of *syr S*
 and "in quantum" of *Cypr Prim Pacian Auct^{prom}*,
 and "quantum" of *gig vg Anon* and *ps-Ambr* (οσὸν)
 157).
 12. μαργαριτων \aleph and a few with *syr S Σ gig*
 Prim boh 1/2 (*arm aeth*).
 23. φανη σοι (-εν) C 178 *syr S gig* and *Prim*
 "tibi" *pro* "in te."
 xx. 11. + αυτου *post προσωπου* Only 56, 67-120, 95-127, 114,
 146, 149, 178, 200 *syr S* and
 Σ *latt* and the other versions.
 xxi. 3. εσκηνωσε (*pro σκηνωσει*) *Syr S* and Σ with \aleph^* 111, 143
 only of Greeks and *gig am*
 only of Latins.
 11. τιμω (*pro τιμωτατω*) *Fam* 25 with *syr S* and *gig vg*
 ps-Ambr "pretioso" against
 "pretiosissimo" of *Prim*
 Anon.
 18. - ἦν \aleph^* AP 62, 65, 72, 111 [*non*
 soror 127], 136, 146, 147
 syr S and Σ *aeth* and *gig*
 (in *structura murus ejus*) and
 Anon (et *supellex muri*).
Ibid. χρυσιου καθαρου (*pro χρυσιον*
 καθαρον) { 113 *syr S Σ* and *am* "auro
 mundo," *Prim aeth* "ex
 auro mundo," but *gig aurum*
 purum.
 21. χρυσιου καθαρου Again, this time only supported
 by *Prim* (plus *Hier* and
 Vigil-Taps extant here)
 and *aeth*.

xxii. 2 *init.* + και

Only 113, 143, 200 *syr S* *gig*
(against all other *latt*) *aeth*
and *arm.*

5. ουχ εξουσι χρεϊαν (*pro ουκ*) *Syr S* and Σ with A 143 and
εχουσι χρεϊαν) } *latt*, which all have the future.

8 *init.* - και

Only 113 *syr S* *sah boh et vgg*
alig.

12. κατα το εργον (*pro ως το εργον*) *Syr S* with Greek *fam* 21, 113,
170 *sah boh*, and *Prim vg-*
ps-Ambr Cypr Anon all
"secundum" except *gig*
"pro."

Remains a doctrinal passage at :

xii. 11. "και αυτοι ενικησαν αυτον (*om.* 122 *syr*)

δια το αιμα (εν τω αιματι *syr S*) του αρνιου και δια τον λογον
της μαρτυριας αυτων" (αυτου *syr S*).

This αυτου for αυτων is subscribed to by the Greeks 22, *fam* 46-88-101-137 (part of the one family), 47, 87 [against its *fam*] and 100. Now *h* and *gig* both have *testimonii sui* (against Primasius' *testimonii eorum*), which is perhaps a shade ambiguous, as they do not say *ejus*, but undoubtedly represents αυτου.

Notice a very curious way in which *h* and *syr S* approach each other at i. 16. For "ρομφαια διστομος οξεια" Gwynn renders *syr S* : πνευμα οξυ (- διστομος),

while *h* writes : *gladius utrimque acutus*,

but *gig* : *gladius utraque parte acutus*

while *Iren* : *gladius ex utraque parte acuta*

and 146 : ρομφαια οξεια διστομος, alone changing the order.

And notice the whole treatment at VI. 14, *syr S* writing the equivalent of :

και ο ουρανος ετακη (or απετακη) και ως βιβλια (or βιβλιον) ειλιχθησαν
for the usual :

και (ο) ουρανος απεχωρισθη ως βιβλιον ειλισσομενον.

Observe that for απεχωρισθη all the Latins have *discessit* or *recessit*, and that *Prim* actually writes *evoluitur* instead of the participial form *involutus* of *gigas* and the *ειλισσομενον* or *ειλισσομενος* of all the Greeks.

And then, again, the (or 'a') basic text is revealed by the

concurrence of important Greek documents with *syr S without Latin*, as at :

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---|
| x. 1. | - ισχυρον | 113, 146 ^{com} <i>syr S</i> . |
| 8: | - ηνεωγμενον | 113, 130, 146 ^{com} <i>syr S</i> . |
| xi. 6 <i>init.</i> | + και | 113 <i>syr S</i> . |
| 7. | θαλασσης προ αβυσσου | 113 <i>syr S</i> . |
- and so forth.

The polyglot character of *syr S* comes out in such passages as :

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| xi. 18. | τοις μικροις μετα των μεγαλων | } With Coptic, and in the
Coptic manner. |
| xix. 5. | παντες οι μικροι μετα των μεγαλων | |
| 20 <i>fin.</i> | και θειω (pro εν τω θειω) | <i>Syr S</i> with <i>Prim</i> and
<i>Auct</i> de prom. <i>Cf.</i>
Coptic ΠΕΛΛ. |

On the other hand, we have apparent improvisations, not concurred in by others, as at :

XX. 12 of the books being opened : και αλλο βιβλιον ηνοιχθη ο εστι της κρισεως instead of ζωης. *Syr S* actually follows this alone with εν τω βιβλιω instead of εν τοις βιβλίοις.

Sometimes *syr S* and Σ are found quite alone, as at :

XXI. 1 ουρανους καινους, and in the first 8 verses of Chapter I.

CONCLUSION.

Can history express the very early polyglot interaction more clearly ? It would not seem possible, but it requires infinite patience to convince oneself, and I can only indicate the path leading to true Knowledge. It has its penances and its disappointments, but it is the only one (as the Indians say) which leads to Emancipation !

As regards the Seer's own Syro-Greek style, observe the following redundant relative constructions (hitherto barely touched upon by other critics), a real Semitic—(whether Hebraic or Aramaic)—mode of expression, to be paralleled as far back as in Genesis, viz. :

- Apoc. ii. 7 and 17. τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ φαγεῖν.
 iii. 8. ἰδὸν δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν ἀνεφγμένην ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν.
 vi. 4. καὶ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ λαβεῖν.
 vii. 2. οἷς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικῆσαι.

9. *ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτόν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο.*
 xii. 4. *ἵνα ὅταν τέκη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγῃ αὐτο* (some MSS).
 xiii. 12. *οὐ ἐθεραπεύθη ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.*
 xvii. 9. *ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν.*
 xx. 8. *ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν* (some MSS. omit) *ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης.*

Now notice the same proportionate number of similar expressions in the book of Genesis : (Hebrew order of words) :

- Gen. iv. 5. Hath appointed to me God seed another instead of Abel whom slew him Cain.
 v. 29. Because of the ground which hath cursed it Jehovah.
 xix. 29. When he overthrew the cities in which dwelt in them Lot.
 xxiv. 3 and 37. Not thou shalt take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, whom I dwell in the midst of them.
 xxiv. 14. And let it come to pass that the damsel whom I shall say to her. . . .
 xxx. 26. Give me my wives and my children whom I have served thee for them.
 xxxi. 13. I am the God of Bethel where thou anointedst there the pillar, and where thou vowest unto me there a vow.
 xxxiv. 8. Shechem my son longeth the soul of him for your daughter.
 xxxvii. 13. And Israel loved Joseph more than all his children because the son of old age he was his.
 xliii. 38. If befall him mischief by the way the which ye go in it.
 xlv. 16 and 17. Behold we are the servants of my Lord, both we and also he whom is found the cup in the hand of him.
 xlv. 4. And he said I am Joseph your brother whom ye sold me into Egypt.
 xlviii. 15. The God whom did walk my fathers before him.

Thus a link (of most undesigned coincidence), is formed between the first and the last books of the Canon, and marks the Alpha and Omega of our Scriptures, and a continuity, which the ultra-modernist

—(God forgive his conceit and complacency)—with all the ingenuity at his command, is not able to break nor to weaken.

And, if we want to carry the analogy further, and if we invade the precincts of the Johannine *Gospel*, we have not far to go (III. 29) before we pick up the Semitic expression *χαρὰ χαίρει*, and observe the Johannine usage of the doublet “ἀμήν ἀμήν” in introductory clauses some twenty-five times, not so set forth in the Synoptics, where ἀμήν is found employed singly. Compare the double use of *Amen* in the Old Testament at Numbers V. 22, Nehemiah VIII. 6, and thrice in the Psalms (XLI. 13, LXXII. 19, LXXXIX. 52) “Amen and Amen.” But, beyond that—(for it is true that the Latins and the Greeks sometimes indulge in this form of emphasis)—there are other things of interest and points of lucid contact with Genesis, forming another golden thread of connection. For instance, redundant expressions similar to those given above, are found seven times in the very first chapter of the Gospel at :

- i. 12. ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.
- 18. ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο. (See also i. 33 below.)
- 27. αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ὃς ἔμπροσθεν μου γέγονεν. (The last four words are omitted by some.)
- Ibid.* οὐ (ἐγώ) οὐκ εἰμι ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος.
- 33. Ἀλλ’ ὁ πέμψας με βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι ἐκεῖνος μοι εἶπεν.
- Ibid.* ἐφ’ ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον καὶ μένον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνι ἀγίῳ.
- 46. ὃν ἔγραψε Μωσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφῆται εὐρήκαμεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ.

And *e.g.* at :

- iii. 26. ὃς ἦν μετὰ σου πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ᾧ συ μεμαρτύρηκας ἵδε οὗτος βαπτίζει.
- . κ32αὶ ὁ ἐώρακε καὶ ἤκουσε τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ.

Such expressions are rarely found in Jesus’ own simple and majestic language, yet we can observe—if He be correctly reported :—

- xiii. 26. ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶν ᾧ ἐγώ βάλω (vel βάψας) τὸ ψωμίον καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ.
- xviii. 9. ὅτι οὗς δέδωκας μοι οὐκ ἀπώλεσα ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδένα. (Although this is reported as a quotation.)

But, more important is the form which we find at John II. 4 in the opening part of the marriage feast at Cana, where we read this :

τὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ, γύναι;

which is not to be rendered, as in our rude and ungainly translation :

Woman, what have I to do with thee ?

but :

What is that to me and to thee, Dame ?

or :

What is that as betwixt me and thee, O Ladye ?

which corresponds to Genesis XXIII., where, during the polite negotiations between Abraham and the Hittites for the transfer of the field of Machpelah for a burial place, Ephron the Hittite says to Abraham, as to the price (ver. 15) :

Betwixt me and betwixt thee what is that ? Therefore thy dead bury.

El Elyon, El Shadai and El Bethel of Genesis, the great I AM of Exodus—Ahayah—the “Living God” of Deuteronomy, and the Ancient of days : “King Kehdem” of David (Psa. LXXIV. 12), and of Daniel, reappears in St. John’s Gospel as the LOGOS, and (XIII. 13/14) as the “EIMI,” the I AM of the New Testament—and that irrespective of the scene before Pilate—to wit at that apparently incongruous place and connection—the washing of the disciples feet—

When therefore he washed their feet and took his garments, sitting down again he said to them : “Know ye what I have done to you ? Ye call me the Master and the Lord, and right properly (καλῶς) so say ye, for I AM. If then I washed your feet—the Lord and the Master—ye also owe it to one another to wash the feet. An example, I (your Lord and Master, there is no *γὰρ* in some excellent witnesses),¹ gave you, that as I did for you, ye also should do.”

And in verse 19 :

From now on, I tell you before the event, that when it occurs ye may believe that I AM.

and

viii. 28. When ye have lifted up the Son of man then shall ye know that I AM.

24. If ye believe not that I AM ye shall die in your sins.

¹ See my “Codex B and its Allies,” vol. i. p. 453.

Then, turning to the scene in Gethsemane (Jo. XVIII. 5), we meet with the majestic I AM in response to the enquiry of Judas' band for Jesus the Nazarene, and are reminded of the record in the same chapter (ver. 17) of poor Peter's οὐκ εἰμί—I AM NOT! And it is no use saying that the Aramaic turn of phrase might have been different, for even if Jesus did not speak Greek on this occasion to the soldiery, it is clear that He did not use the Hebraistic expression so common throughout Genesis of *Hineni*: "Behold me," generally translated in our versions "Here I am," for the Greek particularly lends itself to ἰδού or ἴδε with which the book of the Apocalypse is filled.

And, beyond this and at the water scene, VI. 20, of course the claim is once more fully set forth in that great passage at John VIII. 49/58, concluding with the words :

Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham became, I AM.

"I AM," not I WAS. As to verse 56 "Abraham your father rejoiced in that he saw my day ; and he saw (it) and rejoiced," see Dr. F. C. Burney's study on "The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel," p. 111, and notes on p. 111/112 in connection with another Semitic background and turn of phrase.

And while the World, after 2000 years, is in such an agony of confusion, and while the ultra-"Modernist" is so slowly and so painfully pretending to be honestly trying to grope his way (unaided) towards the light, out of the Babel of voices this is what I hear continually ringing in my ears from the uplifted and patient voice of John of Patmos, crying in the wilderness :

Surely ye do not realise, all ye that pass by, that within the short compass of the Apocalypse, the great El Elyon of Melchisedech reappears as : the portentous Knower and Searcher of all hearts, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, as the Holy One, the KING OF THE AGES, who WAS and IS and IS TO BE, the Creator (IV. 11) and Container and Ordainer and Pervader, the Presider and Dictator ; the unexpected Returner, the Deliverer, the WORTHY ONE, the JUST and TRUE, HE of the Unknown Name (XIX. 12) "called" the WORD OF GOD, The enthroned and rainbow-encircled Diamond (of IV. 3), HE also of the golden crown and sharp sickle, the Reaper with eyes aflame, set in a visage effulgent with power, and with the

voice of many waters, The Bestower of the crown of life and of the secret protective names, the Lord of Love and the Lord of Patience, THE FAITHFUL WITNESS with Righteousness the girdle of His loins, the BEGINNING OF THE CREATION OF GOD, the First-born of the dead, the Ruler of the Kings of the Earth, the Veiler and the Unveiler, the Revealer and Withholder, the ARCHÉ and the TELOS, the FIRST and the LAST, The ALPHA and OMEGA, He who "became dead and lived again"; He is ARIEL the LION of Judah, the Scion of David, the Keeper of the Keys, The Opener of the Seals, the Conqueror, the Morning Star, The Shekinah and the Daysman, the Keeper of the Tree of Life and of the Book of Life, the Headman of the marriage feast, THE ALMIGHTY, as well as the LAMB who is the Light of the Heavenly Mansions and in whom is concentrated all power and riches and wisdom and strength and glory and honour and Eulogia and Eucharistia; and, beyond all this, His Headquarters are situated at the Source of the Water of Life (XXII. 1), and He is the "ΠΗΓΗ" of the twenty-first chapter, "the 'WELL' at the World's end," when time shall be no more, the MAKER OF ALL THINGS NEW.

This is why I am concerned to recover, as far as it is possible, the exact wording of this sublime message to the Churches and to Humanity-at-large.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CATALOGUING OF INCUNABULA.¹

ALL libraries have a duty to posterity to perform in the preparation of detailed catalogues of their most treasured possessions, amongst which must be classed "Incunabula."

Such catalogues should be designed to answer, with the least trouble to the enquirer, as many questions as possible about the works under description ; and it cannot be too frequently emphasised that the sheet-anchor of all such work is accuracy. Errors and difficulties without number have arisen in the past, and in many cases have been perpetuated, through failure to exercise the necessary care in this respect.

Many copies of these interesting productions of the fifteenth century presses possess an individuality, which they share with no other copy of the same work ; and for that reason we are of the opinion that every library should describe in the fullest possible detail its own examples of such books, regardless of the fact that one or more copies have been described already either in some standard bibliography or elsewhere.

Reference and appeal should be made to such authorities as Hain, Panzer, Copinger, Reichling, Proctor, and Pellechet, in the process ; but the cataloguer should work independently of them, so as to bring out any individual features that the particular copy may possess.

One of the surest methods of determining the relationship of one copy to another, perhaps a recorded copy of the same work, lies in a careful description of the discrepancies which may be encountered in the course of the close examination to which every work should be submitted in the process of cataloguing. It is never safe to assume that

¹ These suggestions were prepared at the request of the Cataloguing Committee of the Library Association, for submission to the Committee of the American Library Association, with a view of securing uniformity of treatment.

the differences discovered in this way are due to the inaccuracy of the previous cataloguer. The difference may be a real one, and in that respect your copy may differ from every other known copy, through some slip on the part of the printer, which he may have promptly discovered, and as promptly rectified, although he failed to withdraw and cancel the misprinted sheet or sheets which had been printed-off already. Therefore never dismiss a second copy of a book as a duplicate until you have most carefully compared the two copies page by page, and line by line.

For these reasons we have given precedence in the accompanying suggestions and examples to the full entry, and have added a shortened form of entry, which differs from the other only in those particulars which are included under the heading: "Description." In other respects the information is the same in both entries.

We are of the opinion that notes on the scope, contents, and such details, are out of place in such a catalogue, but in deference to the wishes of the American Library Association Committee we have framed such a "General note".

The following suggestions are based largely upon the British Museum practice, as it is revealed in the "Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum," Parts 1-4, 1908-1916, and in Dr. A. W. Pollard's prefaces to those volumes; as well as upon the experience of others in charge of large collections of fifteenth-century printed books.

Each entry should consist of as many of the following particulars as are applicable:—

1. **HEADING:** (*a*) The author's name; (*b*) a short or conventional title of the work; (*c*) the imprint: consisting of place of printing, name of printer, and date in Arabic numerals, whether stated in the work, ascertained with certainty, or conjectured.
2. **COLLATION:** This should furnish bibliographical information applicable to all copies of the particular edition of the work: (*a*) size; (*b*) signatures; (*c*) number of leaves; (*d*) foliation or pagination; (*e*) number of columns if more than one; (*f*) number of lines to a page or column of a definite page, followed by the measurements in millimetres of the type-page; (*g*) type: measurement of twenty unlead lines in millimetres (or, if preferred, Proctor's or Haebler's

numeration may be used); (*h*) capitals, or spaces left for capitals; (*i*) head-lines, if any; (*k*) catchwords; (*l*) illustrations; (*m*) printer's ornaments; (*n*) printer's device.

3. DESCRIPTION: This should be made up of quotations from the title, incipit, or other important passages from the book itself.
4. REFERENCES: These should be made to bibliographical catalogues or other authorities such as: "British Museum Catalogue of 15th Century Books"; Proctor; Hain, Copinger and Reichling; Pellechet; Berlin "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke"; Voullième; Campbell; Duff; etc.
5. GENERAL NOTE: Information as to the literary contents of the work, when this cannot be shown in the "Description," or elsewhere.
6. SPECIAL NOTE: Relating to the particular copy under description: (*a*) measurement in millimetres of a full page, preceded where applicable by the statement "On vellum"; (*b*) binding; (*c*) note of imperfections, if any; (*d*) nature of rubrications, or illuminations; (*e*) particulars of any manuscript notes or marginalia, especially those of ownership, or presentation; (*f*) the mode and date of acquisition; (*g*) press mark.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

1. HEADING:—

- (*a*) *Author*: The forms adopted for the author's name should conform to the rules laid down for the author entry.
- (*b*) *Title*: The title should be given in what may be described as the standard or conventional form, in other words a shortened form which will enable the seeker to identify the work at a glance.
- (*c*) *Imprint*: If the place of printing, the name of printer, or the date, or any of these particulars are not given in the volume, but have been ascertained with certainty, they must be enclosed within square brackets: "[Rome]." If any of the information has been conjectured it must be followed by a question mark and placed within square brackets; so that an entry may read: "Rome: [Stephan Planck], [1480 ?]." The *place of printing* should be given in the English form. The Latin or vernacular form if employed in the book will be shown in the "Description" if there is a colophon. The *name of the printer* should be given in the recognised vernacular form. The *date* should be given in the English form in Arabic numerals. Any unusual form employed by the

printer in the colophon should be reproduced in the "Description." If the date is conjectured, in cases where the conjecture is based upon some reference in the text to an event which happened in a certain year, it may be expressed: "[not before 1480]."

2. COLLATION :—

- (a) *Format*: The collation should begin with the statement as to whether the book is printed in Folio, Quarto, Octavo, or any smaller format, these terms being used solely with reference to the number of times the sheet has been folded: once to make two leaves (Folio), twice to make four leaves (Quarto), three times to make eight leaves (Octavo), etc. The format may also be determined by the position of the translucent wire-marks and wire-lines in the paper. These wire-lines are perpendicular in a Folio, Octavo, and 32mo, and horizontal in a Quarto and 16mo. Furthermore, the wire-mark or water-mark will be found in the centre of half of the leaves in a Folio, in the centre of the back in a Quarto, in the top of back in an Octavo, and at the top fore-corners in a 16mo.
- (b) *Signatures*: The sequence of quires or gatherings of sheets, and the number of leaves in each, should be indicated for all books for which they can be ascertained: "a⁸ b⁶." When the gathers are not signed, the letters denoting the quires must be placed within square brackets: "[a]⁸ [b]⁶." When an asterisk, or any other symbol is employed instead of a letter, it denotes, as a rule, preliminary matter, and must be shown: "*⁴ *⁶ †⁸," etc. The index number denotes the number of leaves in the gather. It sometimes happens that a single leaf is inserted in a gather owing to some miscalculation on the part of the printer. This may be shown, and its exact position indicated, by giving it the same number as the preceding leaf, with the addition of an asterisk, thus, if inserted after a⁴, it must be described: "a⁸⁽⁺⁴⁾." Where a regular sequence of gathers, made up, say, of eight leaves, is observed, it may be stated: "a-m⁸." In the case of a regular alternation of sequence such as: a⁸ b⁶ c⁸ d⁶ e⁸ f⁶, it may be stated: "a-f^{8,6}." Otherwise irregular sequences should be shown: "a⁸ b⁶ c¹⁰ d⁶ e⁸ f-k⁴." When the gathers are unsigned, look for traces of the manuscript signatures, sometimes to be found at the extremity of the bottom margin, and call attention to them. If the signatures are printed in an unusual position, at the side of the page or elsewhere, call attention to the fact. All faults should be carefully noted.

- (c) *Leaves*: After the signature the number of leaves should be ascertained by a careful count, including blank leaves, and the result stated: "170 leaves, first and last blank."
- (d) *Foliation and pagination*: If the leaves are numbered on the recto, *i.e.* foliated, it should be stated: "ff. [1] 2-170," or if the preliminary matter is unnumbered we may have: "ff. [4] 1-166." In cases where the leaves are numbered both on recto and verso, *i.e.* paged, they should be expressed: "pp. 1-340," or "pp. [16] 1-324." In cases where there are more series of numbers than one they should be shown: "ff. 1-104, 1-96," etc. If the leaves are unnumbered the fact must be stated: "without foliation or pagination." The two sides of a leaf, known as the *recto* and *verso*, should be indicated by superior letters "a" and "b": "4^a" and "[5]^b". The use of "r" and "v" has been advocated as preferable, and has been adopted in some catalogues. Since, however, the method suggested in the rule is that employed in the "British Museum Catalogue," and also in the "Berlin Gesamtkatalog," adherence to it will tend towards uniformity of treatment. Faults in numbering should be carefully noted.
- (e) *Columns*: When there are more columns than one to the page, it should be stated.
- (f) *Lines*: The number of lines to a page or column, with the measurement in millimetres of a specific type-page. Thus: "fol. 5^b, 47 lines, 217 × 144 mm." denotes that the verso of the fifth leaf has 47 lines to a page and that the type-page, which is taken, in the case of a double column page, as including the space between the columns, measures 217 mm. in height, by 144 mm. in breadth. The measurement in millimetres rather than in centimetres is preferred, because it is more easily expressed and also because it allows of a closer measurement to be made. Few books keep rigorously to the same number of lines, and to the same measurement throughout, therefore it is better to quote from a specific page, than to state all the variations. It is computed, says Dr. Pollard, that if half, or a little more, be added to the height of a type-page, and a half be added to its breadth, we have a fair approximation to the dimensions of an uncut copy.
- (g) *Types*: The system of notation adopted by the British Museum for quoting the types in which a book is printed, by the average measurement of twenty unleaded lines, rather than by Proctor's or Haebler's number, has much to recommend it. Dr. Pollard points out that it is a much more useful notation to refer to the

types employed in Fust and Schoeffer's "Rationale" of Durandus, which by Proctor's numeration would be: types 3 and 5, by the measurements suggested, when they become 91 and 118, because the measurements of twenty unleaded lines respectively are 91 mm. and 118 mm. This method has many advantages, not the least significant of which is that it enables us to visualise a type much more readily than by the other method, and forms a basis of trustworthy notation. The same type used in different books by the same printer, or by different printers may give slightly varying measurements, which may be accounted for by various reasons. It may be due to shrinkage, especially in the case of vellum copies, for vellum shrinks more vigorously than paper. Dr. Pollard cites as an instance of this variation Schoeffer's "Liber Sextus Decretalium," where the difference between the measurement of copies is most significant: twenty lines in the vellum copy measures 116.25 mm., whilst the same twenty lines in one paper copy measures 118 mm., in five other copies the measurement is 119 mm. and in one other 120 mm. This may be accounted for by the fact that the paper has been worked with a greater or lesser degree of damp, and to the rate at which the printed sheets are dried. Paper slightly damped and slowly dried will shrink little whilst paper vigorously damped and quickly dried will shrink much more. Another reason may be that the same type in two different books may have been differently leaded, or that it may have been recast from the same matrices, giving the same face on a thicker or thinner body, or shank. But these variations are not so frequent as might be supposed. In some cases they occur in the same volume, when they can be recorded. The character of the type should be stated: "Gothic" "Semigothic" "Roman." When several sizes of type are employed: one for the text, another for the commentary which sometimes surrounds the text, another for the colophon, and yet another for the headlines, etc., each type should be measured and described: "93 text; 85 commentary; 82, head lines; 80, colophon." There may not always be twenty lines together to measure, but it will not be difficult to arrive at a fairly accurate average. If thought desirable the Proctor and Haebler numbers may be added.

- (h) *Capitals*: Mention should be made of the capitals employed, their character, and the space they occupy in number of lines: "Capitals, 4 to 8 lines," or "Woodcut capitals, 6 and 8 lines." When spaces have been left for the insertion of capitals by the rubricator, they have sometimes in the centre of the space a lower-

case letter, printed as a guide or director to the rubricator as to the letter with which the space should be filled, in other cases the guide letter or director has been put in by hand. In each case it would be of interest to state the size of the space in terms of the lines of text which are displaced. The spaces often vary in size in the same volume. They may be described thus: "Capital spaces, 4 to 9 lines," or "Capital spaces, 4 to 9 lines, with guide letters," or "Capital spaces, 4 to 9 lines, with manuscript guide letters."

- (i) *Head-lines*: The presence of head-lines should be indicated, and if printed in red it should be stated: "Head-lines, in red, giving the numbers of the books."
- (k) *Catchwords*: Catchwords, i.e. the first word of the succeeding page, are sometimes printed at the right-hand bottom corner of the page, sometimes they are given only at the end of a gather, or at the right-hand bottom corner of the verso of each leaf. They should be described: "Catchwords at the bottom of each page," or "Catchwords at the end of each gather," or, "Catchwords at the bottom of the verso of each leaf."
- (l) *Illustrations*: These should be described as metal engravings, or woodcuts as the case may be. The number should be ascertained by actual count and stated, with the size; if of different sizes give the measurements in millimetres: "With 30 woodcuts: 10 measuring 110 × 80 mm., 20 measuring 80 × 50 mm." In the case of important books such as the "*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*" fuller descriptions may be given, or reference made to some authority.
- (m) *Printer's ornaments*: The presence of type, or other printer's ornaments, such as borders, head-pieces, or tail-pieces should be noted, and if of sufficient importance described: "With ornamental (or floreated) tail-pieces at end of each book," "With woodcut borders on 1^a."
- (n) *Printer's or Bookseller's device or mark*: The printer's, sometimes the bookseller's device, usually found, when present, at the end of the volume, following the colophon, and sometimes on the first leaf, must be noticed, the position given, and reference made to such authorities as: Delalain, Heitz, Kristeller, McKerrow, etc.: "Printer's device: Kristeller 94." In case of any variation from any of the recorded examples, or of a form not recorded by the authority it should be stated: "Printer's device, variant of Kristeller 94," or "Printer's device, not in Delalain."

3. THE DESCRIPTION: Titles, incipits, and colophons should be given in full, unless they are inordinately long, when the essential portions should be quoted, the omissions being indicated by three dots: "...". Passages from other parts of the book may be quoted when they amplify the information given in the title, incipit, or colophon. In the case of some of the earlier books, the text of the volume opens with a prefatory letter or other preliminary matter, and sometimes with a table of contents. This should be indicated by reproducing the opening words as: "2^a: Tabula librorum q in hoc cōtinent̃."

The transcription should follow closely the original text, misprints included. Capitals and the Gothic forms of I, J, U, V, should not be transliterated but reproduced.

The end of each line should be indicated by two upright strokes: "||," an additional stroke being added to mark larger spaces: "|||".

4. REFERENCES: These should be made to the principal authorities for descriptions of other copies, such as the British Museum, Proctor, Hain, Copinger, Reichling, Pellechet, Berlin G. K. W., Campbell, Duff, etc. When no record of another copy can be found, state the fact: "Not in B.M., Proctor, Hain, etc."
5. GENERAL NOTES: Notes may be given regarding the literary contents of the volume, when this cannot be conveniently shown otherwise: as to the relation which the particular edition bears to other editions of the same work, as to the edition or text that the printer followed, and as to the extent he followed it or departed from it in a new make up. The names of editors or translators may be given here, when they are not shown in the description, but have been otherwise ascertained.
6. SPECIAL NOTES: These further notes are devoted to details relating to the particular copy under description.
- (a) *Measurements*: They commence with the measurement in millimetres of a full page, unless the copy is on vellum, or is a mixture of vellum and paper, when this particular should precede the measurement: "On vellum," or, "Partly on vellum." If it is a paper copy the measurement stands at the head of the note: "197 × 133 mm." The measurement should be taken from the same page as that of the type measurement.
- (b) *Binding*: The binding should be briefly described. If unimportant simply as: "Bound in vellum"; or "Modern binding in brown

morocco." If by some noteworthy binder: "Blue straight grain morocco by Roger Payne"; or "Binding in blue morocco by Padeloup." If it is an armorial binding: "Bound in russia with the arms of M. Wodhull."

- (c) *Imperfections*: "Wants the blank leaves 20 and 258."
- (d) *Illuminations, etc.*: "Branch-work border extending the length of the margin on 21^a; capitals in gold and colours at the beginning of sections: 21^a, 100^a, 170^a; the smaller capitals simply filled in either in red or blue; the paragraph marks and initial strokes are rubricated by being dabbed with red."
- (e) *MS. Notes, etc.*: "MS. notes said to be by Melanchthon," "with marginalia giving alternative readings;" "with Grolier's autograph."
- (f) *Acquisition*: "Spencer copy," "Bought in Nov., 1923," "Lloyd Roberts bequest." The pedigree of a rare book adds immensely to its interest, and invests it with associations that are valued by every student or book-lover.
- (g) *Press-Mark*: "Rylands R45345."

EXAMPLE OF THE FULL ENTRY:

PLINIUS SECUNDUS (Caius). *Historia naturalis*. [Edited by J. ANDREAS, Bishop of Aleria.]

Venice: Nicolas Jenson, 1472.

Folio. [a-h¹⁰, i¹², k-p¹⁰, q⁸, r-z¹⁰, A-D¹⁰, E⁶, F-G¹⁰, H-M⁸, N¹⁰, O¹²] without signatures. 358 leaves: without foliation or pagination: [ff. 1-358]. [Fol. 150^a:] 50 lines: 285 × 161 mm. Type: roman: 114 mm. (Proc. 1^A). Numerous spaces for illuminated and other capitals: 37 large ones measuring 86 × 68 mm., for initials to the divisions into books, without directors; many smaller spaces of 2 or 3 lines in depth, with lower case directors. Without headlines; catchwords; illustrations; printer's ornaments; or printer's device.

[Fol. 1^a, line 1: caption:] CAIVS PLYNIVS MARCO SVO SALVTEM. ||| [line 2: commences with a three-line space with director:] p . . . Ergratum est mihi: q̄ tam diligenter libros auunculi mei lectitas: ut hñe oñes || [line 3:] uelis: quærafq; qui sint omnes. . . || [1^b, line 6, conclusion of letter:] . . . Vale. ||| [1^b, line 7—2^a, line 46: Four "testimonia" on Pliny, ending:] . . . Periit dum inuifit Vefuuuium. ||| [2^b], blank; [3^a, line 1: caption:] CAIL PLYNII SECVNDI

NATVRALIS HISTORIAE LIBER .I. || [lines 2-3:] CAIVS
 PLYNIVS SECVNDVS NOVOCOMENSIS DOMITIANO ||
 SVO SALVTEM. PRAEFATIO. ||| [line 4: commences with a
 space for an illuminated initial, 12 lines deep:] [L]IBROS NAT-
 VRALIS HISTORIAE NO/ || [lines 5-7:] utium camoenis quirritium
 tuorum opus natum || apud me proxima foetura licentiore epistola nar/ || rare
 constitui tibi iucundissime imperator. . . . || [The letter ends on 4^a, line
 41:] . . . Vale. ||| [4^a, line 42—19^b: in two columns commencing:]
 SVMMATIM HAEC INSVNT LIBRIS SINGVLIS. ||| [20,
 blank, and wanting] [21^a, lines 1-2:] CAII PLINII SECVNDI NAT-
 VRALIS HISTORIAE LIBER .II. || AN Finitus fit mundus: &
 an unus. Ca .I. || [line 3; commences with an illuminated initial, 12
 lines deep:] [M] VNDVM ET HOC: QVOD NOMINE ||
 [21^a, line 3-355^a line 7: Text of Pliny] [355^a, lines 8-11: colophon:]
 CAII PLYNII SECVNDI NATVRALIS HISTORIAE
 LIBRI TRI/ || CESIMISEPTIMI ET VLTIMI FINIS IM-
 PRESSI VENETIIS || PER NICOLAVM IENSON GAL-
 LICVM .M.CCCC.LXXII. || NICOLAO TRONO IN-
 CLYTO VENETIARVM DVCE. || [355^a, line 12-356^a line 13,
 where the folio ends, is a letter of the Bishop of Aleria to Pope Pius II,
 commencing:] Iohannifandreæ episcopi alerienfis ad pontificem || summum
 Paulum secundum uenetum epistola. || [Ending: lines 7-13:] Hereneus
 lugdunensis episcopus: item Iustinus ex philosopho martyr: item cum || diuo
 Hieronymo Eusebius cæsariensis: serio posteritatem adiurarunt: ut eorum
 def/ || cripturi opera conferrent diligenter exemplaria: & sollerti studio
 emendarent. Idem || ego tum in cæteris libris omnibus tum maxime i
 Plinio ut fiat: uehementer obsecro: || obtestor: atq; adiuro: ne ad priora
 menda: & tenebras iextricabiles tanti fudoris opus || relabat'. Instauratū
 aliquātulū sub romano pōtifice maximo Paulo secūdo ueneto. [356^b blank]
 [357 and 358 blank, the latter wanting in this copy].

Hain, *13089; Proctor, 4087; Morgan II, no. 297.

Of Pliny's many works this is the only one that has survived. It professes to be an encyclopædia of Roman knowledge, mainly based upon the researches and speculations of the Greeks. Pliny was an industrious compiler, rather than a man of original research. Probably the same text as that in the 1470 Rome edition of Sweynheym and Pannartz, which was also edited by the Bishop of Aleria.

430 × 285 mm. Bound in green straight grained morocco by Roger Payne. Wanting the two blank leaves ff. [20] and [358]. The two large capitals on [3^a] and [21^a] are supplied in colours on a gold background; the other large spaces have been left blank. The smaller spaces have been for the most part also left blank, some in the earlier part of the volume have been crudely filled in in red and blue, paragraph marks in red and blue have also been inserted. On [21^a] a beautiful border measuring 340 × 65 mm. has been painted on the fore margin, nearly filling it. Numerous marginalia in a beautiful hand, not yet identified, give alternative readings to the text. The collation of other copies of this edition, show the number of leaves as 356. This copy appears to show that there were originally 358, since the last gather was evidently composed of twelve leaves. By the careful scrutiny of the water marks of the last gather it is found to consist of: xxxox | oxoooo. "x" indicates the leaves bearing a water mark, "o" those without. The sewing of the gather is between the sixth and seventh leaves. Therefore assuming there were two blank leaves at the end, of which one is still preserved in the present copy we have a gather of twelve leaves. There are traces of the manuscript signatures.

Spencer copy.

Rylands 3223.

EXAMPLE OF THE SHORTENED FORM OF ENTRY:

PLINIUS SECUNDUS (Caius). *Historia naturalis*. [Edited by J. ANDREAS, Bishop of Aleria, with prefatory epistle, and notices of Pliny by various writers.]

Venice: Nicolas Jenson, 1472.

Folio. [a-h¹⁰, i¹², k-p¹⁰, q⁸, r-z¹⁰, A-D¹⁰, E⁶, F-G¹⁰, H-M⁸, N¹⁰, O¹²] without signatures. 358 leaves: without foliation or pagination: [ff. 1-358]. [Fol. 150^a:] 50 lines: 285 × 161 mm. Type: roman: 114 mm. (Proc. 1A). Numerous spaces for illuminated and other capitals: 37 large ones measuring 86 × 68 mm., for initials to the divisions into books, without directors; many smaller spaces of 2 or 3 lines in depth, with lower case directors. Without headlines; catchwords; illustrations; printer's ornaments; or printer's device.

[Fol. 1^a, line 1: begins:] CAIVS PLYNIVS MARCO SVO SALVTEM. [Fol. 3^a: begins:] CAII PLYNII SECVNDI NATVRALIS HISTORIAE LIBER .I. [Fol. 355^a, lines 8-11: colophon:] CAII PLYNII SECVNDI NATVRALIS HISTORIAE LIBRI TRI/|| CESIMISEPTIMI ET VLTIMI FINIS IMPRESSI VENETIIS || PER

NICOLAVM IENSON GALLICVM .M.CCCC.LXXII. || NICO-
 LAO TRONO INCLYTO VENETIARVM DVCE. || [Followed
 by a letter of the Bishop of Aleria to Pope Pius II which ends on fol. 356^a,
 line 13:] *Instauratū aliquātulū sub romano pōtifice maximo Paulo fecūdo*
ueneto.

Hain, *13089; Proctor, 4087; Morgan II, no. 297.

430 × 285 mm. Bound in green straight grained morocco by Roger Payne. Wanting the two blank leaves ff. [20] and [358]. The two large capitals on [3^a] and [21^a] are supplied in colours on a gold background; the other large spaces have been left blank. The smaller spaces have been for the most part also left blank, some in the earlier part of the volume have been crudely filled in in red and blue, paragraph marks in red and blue have also been inserted. On [21^a] a beautiful border measuring 340 × 65 mm. has been painted on the fore margin, nearly filling it. Numerous marginalia in a beautiful hand, not yet identified, give alternative readings to the text. The collation of other copies of this edition, show the number of leaves as 356. This copy appears to show that there were originally 358, since the last gather was evidently composed of twelve leaves. By the careful scrutiny of the water marks of the last gather it is found to consist of: xxxxx | ooooo. "x" indicates the leaves bearing a water mark, "o" those without. The sewing of the gather is between the sixth and seventh leaves. Therefore assuming there were two blank leaves at the end, of which one is still preserved in the present copy we have a gather of twelve leaves. There are traces of the manuscript signatures.

Spencer copy.

Rylands 3223.

HAND-LISTS OF CHARTERS AND DEEDS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

By ROBERT FAWTIER, D. ÈS LETTRES.

ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

IV.

THE PHILLIPPS CHARTERS.

THE Phillipps Charters include all records bought by the Library as having been part of the celebrated collection of Middlehill, whether they have been bought directly at the Phillipps sales or indirectly through booksellers.

In this hand-list the number between square brackets [R. . .] is the accession number in the John Rylands Library, the number between round brackets () is the Phillipps press-mark. As some of these documents were originally treated as manuscripts and were given numbers accordingly, it has appeared convenient to reproduce these original numbers [Latin MS. No., French MS. No., English MS. No.] in case some scholars may have seen them before the present classification was adopted and quoted them under these former numbers.

We give opposite a concordance of the numbers which the documents had in the Phillipps Collection and those which have been given to them in the John Rylands Library.

DEVON (County).

[R. 26218] 1 (35582).—Accounts of the mines near Calstock, 1317.

Particule compoti Richardi de Wigornio, custodis minere domini Regis in Comitatu Devonensi, de omnibus receptis, misis et expensis per ipsum appositis circa operationes minere predictæ a festo sancti Michaelis anno regni Regis Eduardi X^o usque I diem Julii proxime per visum et testimonium Willelmi Hicche, contrarotulatoris ibidem.

A roll of 2 skins. The counterpart is also in the Library (MS. lat. 135). [Latin MS. 248.]

Phillipps Collection.	J.R.L. Phillipps Charters.	Phillipps Collection.	J.R.L. Phillipps Charters.	Phillipps Collection.	J.R.L. Phillipps Charters.
4069	7-8	32288	28-67	34596	246
4412	6	32289	68-125	34861	} 524-561
9943	126-145	32949	244, 245	34862	
9967	146	32965	220-223	34863	
16953	} 262-283	33237	233	35558	
16954		33822	17	35559	234-237
23090	247-259	33823	20	35560	206-208
26686	5	33826	9-16	35562	238-243
26843	21	33852	22	35563	301-338
27722	23	33858	19	35582	1
28220	229, 230, 232	34085	} 388-523	35652	25
28654	260, 261	34087		35657	262-283
29090	339-387	34088		35814	26
29222	224-227	34090		35819	27
30238	284-300	34091		35828	24
30281	524-561	34092		Lots 613, 614, 615 at the Phillipps sale 1919	} 147-174 ¹
30337	209-214	34094			
30459	524-561	34102			
30465	} 388-523	34105			
30467		34106			
30472		2	34107		
30670	228	34108			
31609	4	34110			
31844	3	34113			
32237	231	34115			
32282	175-205	34117			

ENGLAND.

[R. 45956] 2 (30472).—Wardrobe accounts for the year 1313-1314.

. . . liberationes facte Ingelardo de Warlee custodi garde[robe].
. . . nens XX milia librarum cujus data est apud Wyndesor XV
d[ie]. . . .

(dorso) . . . scaccarium . . . de Warlee. De toto anno
septimo.

A roll of 18 skins.

¹ These charters concerning Bordeaux and Aquitaine were never numbered. They must have been kept in the two packing cases mentioned by M. Omont in his survey of the "*Manuscripts relatifs à l'Histoire de France conservés dans la Bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillipps à Cheltenham*" published in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, t. 50, 1889, p. 187.

WEM (Co. Salop).

- [R. 23213] 3 (31844).—Custom roll of the manor and borough (XVIth c.); on the back, part of a survey of the County relating to the Hundreds of North and South Bradford.

In the margin: "7th October, 1674. This roll was produced by Richard Jenkins, Gent., at the time of his exaction before us. Ths. Baudene. Jo. Holland."

A roll of 3 skins.

[Latin MS. 241.]

TOLETHORPE (Co. Rutland).

- [R. 26229] 4 (31609).—The history of the descent of the manor from the time of William Rufus to 1441, with a transcript of 85 charters and deeds relating to the Burtons of Tolethorpe.

The history of the manor has been printed and the charters and deeds have been calendared by T. Blore in: *History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, Stanford, 1811, in fol. pp. 209-217. In Blore's time this roll was in the possession of the Countess of Pomfret.

A roll of vellum 10^m, 62 × 261 mm. fastened on paper.

[Latin MS. 257.]

SUTTON FERNE (Co. Hereford).

- [R. 45958] 5 (26686).—Court rolls. (May 19th, 1386-April 31st, 1550.)
10 rolls of one skin, one roll of paper.

BORDEAUX (Gironde).

ABBAY OF SAINTE CROIX, O.S.B.

- [R. 33812] 6 (4412).—A lawsuit between the Duke of Guienne, King of England, and the Abbot of Sainte Croix before the Parlement of Paris in the matter of the rights of justice in Saint Macaire. (1312-1320.)

A roll of 28 skins. Sometime in the collection of M. Monteil.

ABBAY OF LA SAUVE MAJEURE, O.S.B.

- [R. 45955] 7 (4069).—Declarations of the witnesses for the Abbey in a lawsuit against the King of England in the matter of a field where trials by combat were held. (1280.)

A roll of 3 skins.

- [—] 8 (—) Grievances and claims of the Abbey against the King for encroachments on the privileges and the seisin of certain feudal rights. (1320.)

A roll of 1 skin.

WEST HARLING (Co. Norfolk).

- [R. 16421] 9-16 (33826).—A large volume square royal folio, bound in

Russia leather, with the title: *Computus Rolls of the Manor of West Harling*, and on the leaves of which are fastened the following rolls:

9. *Westherlynge. Computus Johannis Baret, servientis ibidem, a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum primo, usque idem festum proxime sequens, anno secundo.* (Sept. 29th, 1377-Sept. 29th, 1378.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

10. *Computus Thome Picot, servientis Johannis de Sekford apud Herlingge, ab in crastino sancti Michaelis, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu tercio, usque eundem diem, per unum annum, anno quarto.* (Sept. 30th, 1329-Sept. 30th, 1330.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

11. *Herlingge. Compotus Ricardi Wowere, servientis Johannis de Sekford ibidem, a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum sexto, usque ad eundem festum, anno ejusdem septimo.* (Sept. 29th, 1332-Sept. 29th, 1333.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

12. *Compotum Thome Picot, servientis Johannis de Sekford apud Herlingge, a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum secundo, usque ad eundem festum proxime sequentem, anno ejusdem tercio.* (Sept. 29th, 1328-Sept. 29th, 1329.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

13. *Westherlynge. Hakeford. Compotus Ricardi Wowere, servientis ibidem, ab in crastino Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum nono, usque in crastino Sancti Michaelis, anno ejusdem Regis Edwardi decimo.* (Sept. 30th, 1335-Sept. 30th, 1336.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

14. *Westherlynge. Compotus Johannis Miles, prepositi ibidem, a festo Sancti Michaelis, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum XXXI^o, usque idem festum, anno XXXII^o.* (Sept. 29th, 1357-Sept. 29th, 1358.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

15. *Westharlynge. Compotus Johannis Baret, prepositi ibidem in manerio domine Alicie de Segfford, ab in crastino Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum XLIII^o, usque in crastinum sancti Michaelis, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu XLIII^o, per unum annum integrum.* (Sept. 30th, 1368-Sept. 30th, 1369.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

16. *Westherlynge. Compotus Johannis Baret, prepositi ibidem in manerio domine Alicie de Segforth, ab in crastino sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum XLVI^o, usque in crastinum sancti Michaelis, anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum XLVII^o, per unum annum integrum.* (Sept. 30th, 1372-Sept. 30th, 1373.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

[R. 16421] 17-22 (33822).—A large volume square royal folio, bound in Russia leather, with the title: *Computus Rolls, Norfolk, 1277-1576*, and on the leaves of which are fastened the following rolls:

[Latin MS. 170.]

CARLTON (Co. Norfolk).

17. *Carleton. Compotus Hugonis, servientis Willelmi de Curszon ibidem, a festo sancti Michaelis, anno regni Regis Edwardi quinto, usque idem festum, per annum [integrum].* (Sept. 29th, 1277-Sept. 29th, 1278.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

18. *Carleton. Compotus Phelipi de Nasebourgh, baillivi ibidem Willelmi Appylierd in manerio suo, a festo sancti Michaelis, anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum septimo, usque idem festum, anno ejusdem regis octavo, per unum annum integrum.* (Sept. 29th, 1405-Sept. 29th, 1406.)

A roll of 2 skins, imperfect at the end and written on both sides.

GASTHORPE (Co. Norfolk).

19. [*Compotus . . .*] *servientis ibidem, a festo sancti [Michaelis, anno regni Regis] Henrici quinti quinto, usque idem festum proxime sequens, anno sexto.* (Sept. 29th, 1417-Sept. 29th, 1418.)

A roll of paper, sometime in the collection of Sir John Fenn.

BURNHAM-DEEPPDALE (Co. Norfolk).

20. *Depdale. Compotus Johannis Heyward, baillivi ibidem, a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Henrici sexti XXXIII^o, usque idem festum . . . anno regni ejusdem Regis XXXVIII^o, . . . per unum annum integrum.* (Sept. 29th, 1454-Sept. 29th, 1455.)

A roll of 3 skins written on both sides.

INGHAM (Co. Norfolk).

21. Account roll of paper, imperfect at the beginning, being the receipts of Sir John Fortescue, knt., for the manor of Ingham in the 22^d year of the reign of King Henry VII. (1500).

NORFOLK (County).

22. Account roll of paper, being the expenses of various persons (chiefly a certain William Davy, Esq.) for journeys through the county and to London, in the 18th, 19th, and 20th years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Endorsed: *Charges of dyvers Mayors.*

ENGLAND (Royal Family of).

[R. 33889] 23 (27722).—Settlement for the marriage of Isabella, daughter of Edward III, with Louis, Count of Flanders. March 13th, 1347.

Edward par la grace de Dieu roi de Ffrance et d'Engleterre et Seigneur d'Irlande, à tous ceux qui cestes presentes lettres verront ou orront salus e conissance de verité.

Come autrefois ad esté trettee entre nous d'une part e nobles homme Monseigneur Loys jadis conte de Fflandres, de Nevers e de Rethest qui Dieux assoille, piere a nobles homme Monseigneur Loys a present conte de Fflandres, de Nevers e de Rethest, d'autre part, sur mariage faire entre le dit Monseigneur Loys a present conte de Fflandres e Isabelle nostre tres chere eisie fille, et ore de novel sur le meisme mariage soit tretés entre nous par nos solempnes messages a ce deputés d'une part, et le dit Monseigneur Loys a present conte de Fflandres, ses gents de son linage e conseil e les bones gents de ses bones villes e pais de Fflandres por ce espetialement assemblés d'autre part; nous, veants en ce par deliberation de conseil le évident profit et honour de nous deux, de nos gents, de nos Roialmes e du pais de Fflandres, e pour nurrir e accrestre a perpetuité plus grant amour e amistee entre nous et nos dites gents e terres, nous fumes accordés e assentus, accordons e assentons, au dit mariage faire accomplir e enteriner en la forme, maniere e sur les conditions e points que cy après s'ensuent.

Premierement, nous Ednard, Roys de Ffrance et d'Engleterre dessus dit, donons des maintenant a Isabelle Nostre tres chere fille dessusdite en franc droit mariage e pour cause de mariage ovesque le dit conte e a leur heirs engendrés e nés de lor corps nostre contee de Puintif heritablement e entierment ovesques tous les homages, noblesces, seigneuries, rentes, revenues e appurtenances de ycelle contee, ovesque ce nostre ville, chastel, chastellerie, prevostee e toutes les appendances e appurtenances de Monstrelle. Et est assaver que jusques adonques qu'ils eient peisible possession des terres, seigneuries e appurtenances dessus dites, nous promettons a doner a nostre dite fille e a ses dits heirs engendrés du dit conte, en recompensation des fruits, profits, rentes e revenues d'ycelles terres e seigneuries, la

somme de vint cynk mille livres parisis de rente par an, tiele moneie come le dit conte recevra lors ses rentes en Fflandres desoremés en avant a paier a deux termes en l'an, l'une moitee a Nowel preschein venant e l'autre a la Nativité Seint Johan Baptiste ensuant le dit Nowel, e ensi dan en an si come dit est par tiele manere que toutes les fois que nous assignerons suffisamment a nostre dite fille a cause du dit mariage en franchises terres, seigneuries e noblesces la somme e value de vint cynk mille livres parisis de rente par an manere dessus dite pers de Fflandres par decea la meer, les dessus dites contees de Pountif, Monstrelle, e les appurtenances deveront retourner e retourneront peisiblement e quitement par devers nous e nos heirs Rois d'Engleterre. Et semblablement demorrons nous quites perpetuelment par devers nostre dite fille a cause dessus dite de vint cynk mille livres parisis de rente primers només.

Derechief nous promettons a doner e darrons au dit conte ovesque nostre dite fille pour la cause dessus dite trois cents mille deniers d'or a l'escut a paier as termes que s'ensuent, c'est assaver : a la Nativité Seint Johan Baptiste preschein venant, vint mille deniers d'or a l'escut, e a la Pasques preschein après ensuant, quatre vint mille deniers d'or a l'escut, e les autres deux cents mille deniers d'or a l'escut en deux ans preschein ensuant la dite feste de Pasques, c'est assaver : as termes de la Seint Michel e de Pasques, a chescune d'ycelles festes, cinquante mille deniers d'or a l'escut, si que de la Pasques qui vient prescheinement en trois ans toute la somme de trois cents mille deniers d'or a l'escut dessus dite soit entierment perpaiee as termes e en la manere dessus devisés.

Ovesques ce, nous leur promettons a donner e dorrons come desus après le darrein terme de paiement de yceux trois cents mille deniers d'or a l'escut si come dit est, la somme de cent mille deniers d'or a l'escut a paier dedeins cynk any continuels e ensuants les dessus dites trois annees, per chescune annee au jour de Pasques la somme, de vint mille deniers d'or a l'escut jusque a le perpaie d'yceux cent mille deniers d'or a l'escut.

Et promettons e avons enconvent au dessus dit conte que s'il avenoit que par cause de cest present mariage aucune personne quele que elle feust mesist ou fesist chalenge ou empeschement audit conte de ses contees de Nevers e de Rethest ou de ses terres e seigneuries queconques dont il est ou doit estre sires e heirs ou autres quiconques, de son pays de Fflandres y receust damage ou empeschement du soen pour la dite cause, nous promettons e avons enconvent que nous ne ferrons pas accord, trewes ne abstinances plus longs d'un an de

nostre presente guerre jusques adonques qu'ils soient reseises e mis en possession peisible ; les queles choses toutes ensembles e chescune per lui nous promettons e avons enconvent loialment e en bone foi tenir e acomplir fermement e entierment et quant a ce nous obligeons envers le dit counte e ses heirs contes de Fflandres nous, nos heirs, nos successours, nos pays, nos biens e les biens de nos dits heirs e successours e de nos gents de nostre Roialme d'Engleterre.

Et requerrons a Edward nostre tres cher eisné fils, prince de Gales, que toutes les choses dessus dites e chescune d'ycelles promette e eit enconvent [a tenir e acomplir] loialment e fermement e si come promis les avons. Et en signe de plus grande seureté de deniers susdits paier as termes e en la manere dessus escrites bien e loialment, nous prions e requérons a nos chers e foialx William, conte de Norhamptone, nostre cousin, Thomas conte de Wurrewick, Robert, conte de Suffolk, qu'ils e chescun de eux promettent loialment e en bone foi que ou cas que nous serriens defaillants de paier les sommes des deniers as termes e en la manere dessus escrits e devisés, ils enverront par devers le dit conte de Fflandres en la contee de Fflandres dedeins un mois après ce que nous ent serrons suffisamment requis de par le dit conte, chescun pour lui deux suffisants chivalers chescun a quatre chivaux.

Derechief prions nous e requerrons a nos amés e foialx Richard Talbot, seneschal de nostre houstiel, Berthelmeu de Burghasshe, nostre chambelein, Renaud de Cobham, Johan d'Arcy le Joevene, chivalers, que en semblable manere ils e chescun de eux promettent e eient enconvent loialment e en bone foi come desus, qu'ils enverront dedeins la dite contee de Fflandres chescun un chivaler pour lui suffisamment, chescun a trois chivaux ; lesqueux se presenteront par devers ledit conte ou son lieu tenant dedeins le quart jour après ce qu'ils seront entrés en Fflandres sans mal engien et prometteront par leur fois e serments de non issir ne partir jammés hors de une de trois bones villes de Fflandres jusques a tant que pleine satisfaction e solution soient faites du terme on termes de la somme ou sommes des deniers dont la defaute serreit, si come desus est escrit, si n'estoit par le gree e congie du dit conte. Et est a entendre que les dits chivalers qui envoiés seront, pourront eslire lor demorer en laquele des dites trois bones villes qui mielts leur plerroit. Et s'il avenoit que en temps a venir aucuns de nos contes et chivalers desus només alast ou alassent de vie a trespas, lor preschein naturel heir e successour seront expressement tenus d'envoyer les chivalers en Fflandres dont mention est faite selon la forme e ordonnance desus

escrites. E si aucun d'yceux hostages trespasast, cil qui lui averoit envoié sera tenus de y envoier un autre en son lieu pour acomplir e enteriner les paiemens desus dits.

En conissance e tesmoignance de toutes les choses dessus dites e de chescune d'yceux, e por ce que elles soient fermement tenues en tous lour points a tous jours mais, en bone joi, sans fraude e sans mal engien, avons nous Edward, Rois de Ffrance et d'Engleterre dessus només, fait sealler cestes lettres de nostre grant seál e requerrons a Edward nostre tres cher fils, et prions a nos foials gents dessus escrites qu'ils veuillent mettre lor seals ovesque le nostre a cestes presentes lettres.

E nous, Edward, eisé fils a tres excellent prince Monseigneur le Roy dessus només, William, conte de Norhamptone, Thomas, conte de Warrewyk, Robert, conte de Suffolk, Richard Talbot, seneschal del houstiel Monseigneur le Roy dessus dit, Berthelmeu de Burghashe, chambelein a Monseigneur le Roy dessus dit, Renaud de Cobham e Johan d'Arcy le Joevene, chivalers, a la requeste e priere de tres excellent e puissant prince, nostre tres cher seigneur Monseigneur Edward, par la grace de Dieu Roy de Ffrance et d'Engleterre, toutes les choses dessus escrites e chescune per lui en la manere que nous en fumes requis cy dessus de nostre dit seigneur, promettons e avons enconvent loialment e en bone foi tenir e acomplir fermement e entierment de point en point. Especialment nous, Edward, eisés fils du dit Monseigneur le Roy, obligeons quant a ce nous, nos biens, nos heirs e successours e tous lour biens ovesque tantile succession que jammés nous purroit venir de nostre dit tres cher seigneur e piere ou d'autre, envers le dit conte, ses heirs e successours contes de Fflandres. Et en conissance e tesmoignance avons nous mis nos seals a cestes presentes lettres ovesque le seal nostre tres cher seigneur Monseigneur le Roy dessus només.

Donné a Berghes le XIII jour de Mars l'an de nostre regne de Ffrance le oytisme e d'Engleterre vintisme primer.

Cords of green silk have been affixed for 9 seals of which 7 only have been attached. The seal having been attached, except in the case of the Great Seal of England, the names of the co-jurors have been written on the fold. We have therefore from left to right the following seals and subscriptions :

- (1) *Southfolk* (Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk). [Birch, No. 14053.]
- (2) *Warewik* (Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick). [Birch, No. 7260.]

(3) *Norhampton* (William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton).

(4) *Prince* (Edward, the Black Prince).

(5) The great seal of England. [Birch, No. 186.]

(6) *Seneschal* (Richard Talbot).

The seals of Bartholomew de Burgassh and Renaud de Cobham were not attached as can be seen from the cords and from the fact that their names were not written on the fold.

(7) *Darcy* (John, Lord d'Arcy).

SAINT-OMER (Pas-de-Calais).

ABBEY OF SAINT BERTIN, O.S.B.

[R. 33890] 24 (35828).—Confirmation by Pope Adrian IV. of the grant by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury and Papal Legate, of the churches of Trulegh and Chilham in the county of Kent. (March 27th, 1157.) Leaden seal on yellow silk cords. [Jaffé, 2^o ed., No. 10133.] Sir Thomas Phillippis published this bull in *Archaeologia*, t. xxv, 1834, p. 150.

[R. 36228] 25 (35652).—Pope Clement III. forbids the interdiction or excommunication of the monks of St. Bertin. (January 5th, 1191.)

[Latin MS. 256.]

Clemens episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Dilectis filiis . . . Abbati et fratribus Sancti Bertini, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Juxta postulantium rationabilem voluntatem convenit Sedem Apostolicam annuere postulatis et humiliter requisitum conferende provisionis auxilium prout est solitum et expedire visum fuerit largiri. Eapropter vestris justis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu, ne quis in vos vel ecclesias vestras seu vestros clericos nisi post commonitionem coram prudentibus viris sepe factam et vobis judicio stare contempnentibus absque manifesta et rationabili causa proferat excommunicationis aut interdicti sententiam auctoritate apostolica prohibemus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre prohibitionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Laterano Non. Januarii Pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

Leaden bull on red and yellow silk cords. [Jaffé 2^o ed. 16651.]

[R. 33891] 26 (35814).—Pope Alexander IV. grants to the Abbot and Prior the privilege of not being obliged to deal with the cases except these for which they will be specially appointed by the Holy See. (November 11th 1255.)

Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Dilectis filiis . . .

Abbati et Priori monasterii Sancti Bertini, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Morinensis diocesis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum sepe contingat in vobis causarum cognitiones que vobis frequenter a Sede Apostolica committuntur sancti contemplationis otium impediri et monasterium vestrum non modicam sustineat lesionem, ejus indempnitati paterna sollicitudine providere volentes, vestris inclinati precibus, auctoritate vobis presentium indulgemus ut non cogamini ad causarum cognitiones inviti, nisi optinende a nobis ad vos littere plenam de hac indulgentia fecerint mentionem, salvo commissionibus ad vos hactenus impetratis. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre concessionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Neapoli III. Id. Novembris. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Seal missing.

- [R. 33892] 27 (35819).—Pope Nicholas V. appoints Guillaume Fillastre, Bp. of Toul, as abbot of St. Bertin to restore the peace. (March 27th, 1451.)

Nicolaus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Guillermo episcopo Tullensi, Abbati Monasterii Sancti Bertini de Sancto Audomaro, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Morinensis diocesis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Apostolice solitudinis studium circa diversa que nostris agenda incumbunt humeris est illud potissimum ut circa ecclesiarum et monasteriorum statum salubriter dirigendum sollicita sit diligentia intendamus, quod ecclesie et monasteria hujusmodi nostre provisionis auspiciis, superni suffragante favoris auxilio, preserventur a noxiis et salubribus proficiant incrementis. Dudum siquidem monasterium Sancti Bertini de Sancto Audomaro, Romane ecclesie immediate subjectum, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Morinensis diocesis, per obitum quondam Johannis, olim illius abbatis, extra Romanam Curiam defuncti, abbatis regimine tunc destitutum, cujus provisio antea per felicis recordationis Eugenium papam IIII predecessorem nostrum sue primo et deinde eo sicut domino placuit rebus humanis exempto per nos ad supplicationem dilecti filii nobilis viri Philippi ducis Burgundie nostre ordinationi et dispositione cum decreto desuper irritante specialiter fuerat reservatum, tibi tunc Viridunensi Episcopo per quasdam sub certis modo et forma commendavimus primo; et deinde motu proprio electionem de persona dilecti filii Johannis de Medom, monachi prefati monasterii, ad ipsum monasterium sic vacans per dilectos filios Conventum ejusdem monas-

terii ac factam ac ordinariam desuper subsecutam confirmationem utpote post et contra reservationem et decretum predicta ac etiam alias de facto attemptatas ac quecumque inde secuta nulla nulliusque fuisse roboris vel momenti, dictoque Johanni de Medom nullum in prefato monasterio ac regimine et administratione ejusdem jus comperiisse seu competere ipsamque commendam canonicam fore declaravimus, necnon prefato Johanni de Medom super regimine et administratione predictis perpetuum silentium imposuimus, omnes causas atque lites inter eum ac conventum prefatos ex una necnon te Episcopum Abbatem partibus ex altera desuper tunc indecisas pendentes ad nos tunc advocavimus et penitus extinximus, ac successive dictam commendam in titulum resolvimus et commutavimus, ac de persona tua dicto monasterio providimus, teque illi prefecimus in abbatem, ita tamen quod per hoc Viridunensis vel, si ad Ecclesiam Tullensem transferreris, Tullensis Episcopus esse non desineres sed tecum ut prefatum monasterium tanquam verus illius Abbas una cum Viridunensi vel Tullensi ecclesia quoad viveres in titulum retinere, necnon Viridunensis vel Tullensis Episcopus ac etiam dicti monasterii Abbas esse et vocari et appellari posses et deberes dispensavimus. Postea vero, te a vinculo quo dicte Viridunensi ecclesie tenebaris absolventes, te ad Tullensem Ecclesiam tunc pastore carentem transtulimus, preficiendo te dicte Tullensis ecclesie in episcopum et pastorem prout in diversis nostris desuper confectis litteris plenius continetur. Cum autem nos hodie quedam tractatum, concordatum, transactionem, pacem et compromissum inter te et prefatum Johannem de Medom pro bono pacis et concordie habita per alias nostras litteras approbaverimus et confirmaverimus, ac cessionem juris quod ipsi Johanni de Medom in regimine et administratione dicti monasterii, seu ad illa quomodolibet competeat per eundem Johannem de Medom in manibus nostris sponte factam duxerimus admittendam, et propterea ab aliquibus fosse pretendi posset dictum monasterium per cessionem et illius admissionem hujusmodi seu alias vacavisse et vacare; nos apud quos de litterarum scientia, vite munditia, honestate morum et spiritualium providentia, aliisque multiplicium virtutum donis plurimum commendaris, litterarum ac omnium et singulorum premissorum tenores de verbo ad verbum, ac tam mense episcopalis Tullensis quam etiam prefati monasterii fructuum, reddituum et proventuum veros valores annuos presentibus pro expressis habentes motu proprio, non ad tuam vel alterius pro te nobis super hoc oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate volumus et apostolica tibi auctoritate ac ex certa scientia

tenore presentium concedimus, quod omnes et singuli tibi super dicto monasterio et ejus occasione per nos concesse littere predictae ac quaecunque indesecuta ad eorum omnium dant, valeant, plenamque roboris firmitatem obtineant in omnibus et per omnia, etiam si dictum monasterium adhuc per obitum dicti quondam Johannis de Griboval, illius ultimi abbatis, extra dictam Curiam defuncti, vel cessionem Johannis de Medom hujusmodi, sive alias quovis modo aut ex alterius cujuscumque persona vacet, ejusque provisio et quavis causa ad sedem apostolicam specialiter vel generaliter pertineat. Et nichilominus pro potioris cautele suffragio, motu et scientia ac auctoritate similibus de persona tua eidem monasterio quovis modorum premissorum vacet, et etiam si ejus provisio specialiter vel generaliter ad dictam sedem pertineat providemus teque illi preficimus in abbatem, curam, regimen et administrationem illius in spiritualibus et temporalibus tibi plenarie committendo, in illo qui dat gratias et largitus premia confidentes quod, dirigente Domino actus tuos, prefatum monasterium per tue industrie et circumspectionis providentiam regetur utiliter et prospere dirigetur. Quocirca tibi per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus impositum tibi a Domino onus prefati monasterii suscipiens, reverenter sic te in ejus cura salubriter exercenda diligentem exhibeas ac etiam fructuosum, quod dictum monasterium per laudabile tuum regimen gubernatori provideo et fructuoso gaudeat se commissum ac tu preter eterne retributionis premium nostram et dicte sedis benedictionem et gratiam uberius consequi merearis. Et insuper etiam mandamus dilectis filiis conventui ut tibi Episcopo et Abbati obedientiam et reverentiam congruentes exhibeant, ac tuis tanquam veri ipsorum et dicti monasterii Abbatis monitis et preceptis realiter intendant; necnon vasallis ac subditis dicti monasterii ut tibi Episcopo et Abbati debita et consueta servitia exhibeant. Alioquin sententias et penas, quos rite statueris in rebelles, ratas et gratas habebimus et faciemus, auctore Domino, usque ad satisfactionem condignam inviolabiliter observari. Et insuper tibi ut si forsitan in posterum te ad aliquas ecclesias, semel vel pluries, per nos vel sedem predictam transferri contigerit, quod per translationem hujusmodi prefatum monasterium nullatenus vacet, sed tu quibusvis etiam patriarchalibus, archiepiscopalibus et episcopalibus ecclesiis ad quos forsitan transferreris, quaecumque fuerant, quoad vixeris, ut illarum presul et dicto monasterio ut verus illius abbas preesse ac ecclesias et monasterium hujusmodi in spiritualibus et temporalibus insimul etiam, quoad vixeris, regere et gubernare possis et valeas libere et licite in omnibus et per omnia,

prout juxta tibi concessas litteras predictas monasterium et ecclesiam Tullensem prefata regere et gubernare potes, auctoritate et scientia similibus harum serie concedimus pariter et indulgemus. Non obstantibus premissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac etiam ecclesie et ecclesiarum ad quam seu quas forsitan transferreris statutis et consuetudinibus, juramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, necnon omnibus illis que in singulis tibi prefatis concessis litteris non obstande volumus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Cupientes autem ut presentes nostre littere plenarium et votivum quantocius fortiantur effectum, dilectis filiis. . . . Preposito Sancti Audomari de Sancto Audomaro et . . . Decano Sancti Petri Lovanensis, Morinensis et Leodiensis diocesum ecclesiarum ac . . . Officiali Morinensi, per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus ipsi, vel duo aut unus eorum per se vel alium seu alios, litteras nostras hujusmodi ubi quando et quotiens expedire viderint auctoritate nostra solemniter publicantes, tibi que in premissis efficacio defensionis auxilio assistentes, non permittant te super monasterio ac regimine et administratione prefatis, et quominus tu illa pacifice gerere et si opus fuerit de novo assequi valeas per dictum Johannem de Medom vel quascumque alias regulares aut alias personas cujuscumque status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis fuerint, et quavis etiam sive archiepiscopali, episcopali vel alia ecclesiastica seu mundana dignitate prefulgeant, impeti, impediri seu quomodolibet molestari, facientes tibi de ipsius monasterii sive illius mense abbatialis fructibus, redditibus et proventibus, quemadmodum illius abbatibus fieri consuevit, integre responderi ac a conventu obedientiam et reverentiam congruentes, necnon vasallis et subditis dicti monasterii debita et consueta servitia efficaciter exhiberi, supradictos ac quoscumque alios contradictores et rebelles quos legitimis super hiis per eos desuper habendis, servatis processibus quotiens expedierit aggravare curabunt per censuram ecclesiasticam et alia juris remedia appellatione postposita compescendo. Invocato ad hoc si opus fuerit auxilio brachii secularis. Ceterum volumus et apostolica auctoritate decernimus, quod a dato presentium sint Preposito, et Decano ac Officiali prefatis et eorum cuilibet in premissis omnibus et singulis potestas ac jurisdictio attributa, ut eo vigore eaque firmitate possint in illis ac pro eis dicta auctoritate procedere ac si quoad ipsa jurisdictio hujusmodi per citationem vel modum alium legitimum perpetuata foret. Non obstantibus premissis necnon pie memorie Bonifacii pape VIII etiam predecessoris nostri, illis presertim quibus cavetur "Ne quis extra suam civitatem

vel diocesim nisi in certis exceptis casibus et in illis ultra unam dictam a fine sue diocesis ad iudicium evocetur" seu "Ne iudices a sede apostolica deputati extra civitatem et diocesim in quibus deputati fuerant contra quoscumque procedere sive alii vel alii vices suas committae presumant," ac de duabus dietis in Concilio generali et aliis apostolicis constitutionibus ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Aut si Johanni de Medom et personis predictis vel quibusvis aliis, communiter vel divisim, a dicta sit sede indultum quod interdicti, suspendi vel excommunicari aut extra vel ultra certa loca ad iudicium evocari non possint per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrorum voluntatis, concessionum, provisionis, mandatorum et constitutionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo primo, Sexto kl. Aprilis, Pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

Leaden bull on yellow and red silk cords.

On the fold: *Gratis de man[damen]to d[omini] n[ostri] p[a]p[e]. S. de Spada.*

Under the fold: *Pe. de Noxeto.*

Endorsed: *R^s in camera apostolica. Cousin.*

- [R. 23196] 28-67 (32288).—A large volume on the leaves of which are fastened 40 documents of various kinds and origin. At the beginning, on one page, are fastened five coloured etchings by a certain Rabelli with the dates 1792 and 1793. On two others are eleven pen-drawings. All these etchings and drawings represent monks and nuns of various orders. The following is a handlist of the documents, contained in the volume, the numbers between brackets being their marks in the volume. [Latin MS. 199.]

CREPY-EN-VALOIS (Aisne).

ABBAY OF SAINT ARNOUL, O.S.B.

28 [1].—A transcript (made from the original and certified correct by the Royal notaries on February 1st, 1648) of the confirmation by Pope Innocent II of all the goods and privileges of the monastery. Nov. 5th, 1130. (Jaffé, 2^o ed., 7249.)

29 [2].—A transcript (xviith c.) of another confirmation by Pope Alexander III. May 22nd, 1162. (Jaffé, 10722.)

CITEAUX (Order of).

30 [3].—Pope Alexander IV decides that the houses of the Cistercian Order are not compelled by right to give shelter to the prelates, and that in doing so they confer a favour on the latter. Naples, March 18th, 1255. (Potthast, 15753.)

Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Dilectis filiis . . . Abbati Cistercii ejusque coabbatibus et conventibus universis Cisterciensis ordinis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Intimantibus vobis accepimus quod cum exhibeatis vos in hospitalitate omnibus liberales diocesanis vestris ac aliis ecclesiarum prelatiis eorumque familiis cum ad vestra monasteria declinant, caritative juxta facultatumstrarum exigentiam necessaria ministrantes, nonnulli prelatorum ipsorum hujusmodi gratiam convertere molientes in debitum et quod sic sponte ipsis impenditis sibi deberi ex antiqua consuetudine asserentes, vos et monasteria vestra propter hoc multipliciter aggravatur et molestant. Nos igitur, vestris supplicationibus inclinati et volentes in hac parte quieti vestre paternam diligentiam providere, ne quisquam prelatus id quod sic gratiose impenditis a vobis ex debito seu prescripta consuetudine presumet exigere auctoritate presentium districtius inhibemus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre inhibitionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Neapoli XV kl. Aprilis. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Seal missing.

VIARMES (Seine-et-Oise, C^{on} Luzarches).

HOTEL-DIEU.

31 [4].—Pope Gregory IX takes the house under the protection of the Holy See. Rieti, Aug. 11th, 1236.

Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Dilectis filiis . . . Magistro et fratribus domus Dei de Virmes, Belvacensis diocesis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum a nobis petitur quod justum est et honestum tam vigor equitatis quam ordo exigit rationis ut id per sollicitudinem officii nostri ad debitum perducatur effectum. Ea propter, dilecti in Domino filii, vestris justis postulationibus grato concurrentes assensu, personas vestras et domum Dei de Virmes in qua divino vacatis obsequio cum omnibus bonis que impresentiarum rationabiliter possidet aut in futurum justis modis, prestante Domino, poterit adipisci, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et

presentis scripti patrocínio communimus. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre protectionis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Reate III. Id Augusti. Pontificatus nostri anno decimo.

Seal missing.

LE MONT-SAINT-MICHEL (Manche, Arrt. Granville).

ABBAY OF SAINT-MICHEL-AU-PÉRIL-DE-LA-MER. O.S.B.

32 [5].—An agreement between Abbot Jourdain (1192-1212) and Nicolas de Verdun, Raoul de Karoles, Jean Le Hungre, Roger Jolif, Philippe Heudeart, Robert de Granville, Anquetil Malnorri, Guillaume Malnorri, Robert Malnorri, Robert "de Mota," Nicolas son of Philippe and Richard "de Bellum" concerning a mill and a pond at Carolles (Manche, Arrt. Avranches, C^{on} Sartilly) and a pasture. n.d. "*Testibus hiis: W. de Leisels, Olivero de Leisels, Ritardo de Leisels, Guarnerio Tyrel, Fulcone de Bosco, Johanne Malherbe, Raimondo de Guastignaco, W. de Vallegrente, W. de Sancto Petro, Thomas de Leisels, Thomas de Bosco, Fulcone de Guastignaco, Roberto de Mesnillo, Hugone de Boillon, et multis aliis.*"

Two seals missing. A chirograph.

33 [6].—A contract concerning the same matter between Abbot Jourdain and Nicolas de Verdun. n.d.

One seal missing. A chirograph.

34 [7].—Confirmation by Rainaud de Karoles of the grant made by his father Raoul de Karoles to the Abbey when the said Raoul became a monk. This confirmation is made with the approval of Nicolas de Verdun. n.d. "*Testibus hiis: Radulfo Herloin, Philippo de Rupela, Willelmo de Valgrente, Garino Tirel, Willelmo de leiseaus, Olivero filio ejus, Hugone de Boillon, Fulcone de Gasteigni, Johanne Malerbe, et multis aliis.*" The grant includes part of the mill and of the pond at Carolles.

One seal missing.

TEMPLE (Order of the Knights of the).

35 [8].—Sale by Brother A., preceptor of the Houses of the Temple in France, to the Abbey of St. Jean le Jard (near Melun, Seine-et-Oise), of the lands of the late Knight Etienne Chalan near the Abbey, for a sum of 100*l.* parisis. September, 1214.

One seal missing.

LEVES (Eure et Loire, Arr^t Chartres).

ABBAY OF SAINTE MARIE DE JOSAPHAT. O.S.B.

36 [9].—Grant by Geoffrey, Bp. of Chartres (1116-1148), to the Abbot Girard and his successors of the churches: Saint Piat (Eure-et-Loire, Arr^t Maintenon), Saint Arnoul (Saint-Arnoul-des-Bois (?), Eure et Loire, Con Courville) and Saint Martin "de operario" (Orrouer (?), Eure et Loire, Con Courville). n.d. Witn. "*Gauterius archidiaconus, Hugo de Leugis prepositus, Sanson decanus, Drogo qui est paganus archidiaconus, alter Hugo prepositus, Zacharias subdecanus, Angerius archidiaconus, Galerannus prepositus, Salomon precentor, Richerius archidiaconus, Henricus prepositus.*"

One seal missing.

PARIS (France).

37 [10].—Conveyance by Simon Morel, a servant of the late Canon Isembard, of St. Medard, to Raoul Clerc, nicknamed Bles "scriptor," Orange his wife and their heir, of two houses in the street "de libera moru". Sept. 1253.

One seal missing.

FAY (Oise, At Beauvais, Con Chaumont).

38 [11].—An agreement between the Abbey of Saint Nicolas de Marcheroux, Ord. Praemonst., in the diocese of Rouen, the monastery of Sainte Marie de Saint-Paul-les Beauvais, O.S.B., in the diocese of Beauvais, on one side, and the Rector of the parish church of Fay-en-Thelle on the other, concerning the tithes of the said church. July 15th, 1269.

Three seals missing.

ALEGRE (Family).

39 [12].—The will of Armand, Seigneur d'Alegre. Nov., 1263.

One seal missing.

BEAUVAIS (Oise).

ABBAY OF SAINT QUENTIN. O.S.A.

40 [13].—An appeal by the Canons to the Bishop of Beauvais to bring before the Holy See a law-suit between them and the Dean and Chapter of Beauvais. July 14th, 1266.

Six seals missing.

CRÉPY-EN-VALOIS (Aisne).

PRIORY OF SAINT ARNOUL. O.S.B.

41 [14].—Exemption from paying the tithe for the Crusade granted by Raoul de Chevrieres, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, Legate of the Holy See. February 20th, 1270.

One seal missing.

LA VOULTE (Ardeche, Arr^t Privas).

42 [15].—Agreement and quitclaim between Perrot and Roger, Lord of La Voulte, concerning a toll-money. Sept. 22nd, 1285.

"Testibus presentibus Bermondo filio dicti domini Rogerii, Johanne de Unda, et me Johanne de Dancio, publico notario dicti domini de Vouta, et domini Montis Lauri qui hiis omnibus interfui et hec scripsi de mandato partium et signo meo signavi."

No seal but the notary's manual signet.

43 [16].—Proceedings of the surrender by Roger d'Anduze, Lord of La Voute, to Guillaume de Melun, damoiseau, "Bayle" of King Phillippe IV of France in the counties of Viennois and Valentinois and in the Bishopric of Viviers, of his castle of La Voute. May 12th, 1287.

"Presentibus testibus ad hoc specialiter vocatis et rogatis Bermondo et Rogerio filiis dicti domini Volte, Roberto Tenensfabam, Petro Delcres dicti Frison, Perroto de Rupecula, Johanne et Perroto de la Chassoigne et Hugone de Vareriis, servientibus domini Regis, et me Theobaldo de Aquaspersas publico notario domini Regis Curie Parisius qui predicta scripsi et signo meo proprio signavi rogatus."

No seal but the notary's manual signet.

PONS (Charente Inférieure, Arr^t Saintes).

44 [17].—Grant by Guillerme Guillaume, a clerk of the parish of St. Vivien, to Pierre du Puy nicknamed Nyauc, a butcher of the parish of St. Martin, of a piece of land. This grant is made before Bernaud, archdeacon of Saintes. March 6th, 1343.

One seal missing.

BEAUVAIS (Oise).

45 [18].—An agreement between the Dean and Chapter of Beauvais on one side and the Treasurer of the said Cathedral on the other, concerning the respective rights of the Chapter and the Treasury. Mathieu de Grancey, precentor, and Robert de Noret, a canon, acting as umpires. January 13th, 1298.

Two seals missing.

MELUN (Seine et Marne).

COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME.

46 [19].—An enquiry and a verdict on the non-residence of the chaplains. August 28th, 1357.

No seal but the manual signet of Jean Maire de Montgeron, public notary.

CHALMAYRAC and LARGENTIÈRE (Ardeche).

47 [20].—Homage sworn by Bermond d'Anduze, Lord of La Voute, to Guillaume, Bishop of Viviers, for his Castle of Chalmayrac and what he owns in the town of Largentière. March 2nd, 1320, in the Bishop's Court.

No seal but the manual signet of Master Hugon "de Crosero," public notary.

POSQUIÈRES (Gard, Arr^t Nîmes, C^{ne} Vauvert).

48 [21].—Contract between Guillaume Mascaron son of Bertrand de Posquière, attorney of Jean and Perrot, children of the late Guillaume Rossignol, on one side, and Jean Carbonnel of Posquières on the other, touching a garden in Posquières, which the said Jean Carbonnel acknowledges that he holds on an emphyteotic lease. November 29th, 1327.

No seal but the manual signet of Pierre Chamand, public notary.

BEAULIEU (Correze. Arr^t Brives).

ABBAY OF SAINT PIERRE. O.S.B.

49 [22].—Raoul, Abbot of Beaulieu, declares void the election by the inhabitants of the town of Beaulieu of the four consuls: Guillaume de Beyshenc, Pierre Laverhia, Pierre de Belloc and Raymond de Baioule. The abbot declares solemnly that the appointment of the consuls is a right of the Abbey. December 26th, 1334.

No seal but the manual signet of Pierre Laporte, public notary.

LA CHARREYRE (Ardeche. Arr^t Largentière C^{ne} Fabras).

50 [23].—Vidimus, dated July 4th, 1384, of the homage sworn by Raymond de La Charreyre to Aymard de Poitiers, eldest son of the Count of Diois and Valentinois, for his house of La Charreyre on the 13th of April, 1328.

No seal but the manual signet of Jean Rabon, public notary.

WIGNEHIES (Nord. Arr^t Avesnes).

51 [24].—Exchange of their benefices made between Jean de Wirye, parson of Wignehies, and Jean Boulrier, chaplain of the Chapelry of Domus Pacis in Cambrai. This exchange is made and approved by the Official of Cambrai, and notice of it is given to the Abbey of St. Denis which has a right of presentation to the parsonage. September 10, 1330.

One seal missing.

AUGEROLLES (Puy de Dôme, Arr^t Thiers).

52 [25].—Contract between Jean Cussier son of the late Pierre

Cussier, and Marguerite de Montaigu, Lady of Olliergues (Puy de Dôme, Arr^t Ambert) concerning some houses in Augerolles. December 16th, 1331.

One seal missing.

MELUN (Seine et Marne).

COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME.

53 [26].—Another verdict against non-residing chaplains. August 28th, 1357 (see No. 46).

No seal but the manual signet of Jean Maire de Montgeron, public notary.

LA CHAISE DIEU (Haute Loire, Arr^t Brioude).

ABBAY.

54 [27].—Foundation of an *obit* by Pierre de Vissac, a Canon of Meaux and a Bachelor of Laws, the son of Pierre de Vissac, knt. June 17th, 1357.

One seal missing.

SAUZET, SAVASSE and MARSANNE (Drôme, Arr^t Montelimar).

55 [28].—Settlement of accounts of Raymond d'Allage, of Montelimar, keeper of the above-named castles for the late Count Aimard of Diois and Valentinois. September 17th, 1387.

No seal but the manual signet of Jean Dupuy of Sauzet, imperial notary.

LOUIS D'ANDUZE, Lord of LA VOUTE.

56 [29].—Homage sworn by Louis d'Anduze to Jean, Count of Auvergne. February 1st, 1392.

No seal but the manual signet of Geraud de Chauveröche, imperial notary.

PORTES (Gard. Arr^t Alais).

57 [30].—Proceedings of the presentation and intimation to Pierre Julien, Judge Mayor of Nimes and lieutenant of the seneschal of Beaucaire and Nimes, of some letters of the Duke of Berry, Count of Auvergne and Lieutenant of the King, "*in partibus lingua occitana*" in the matter of a case pending between the seneschal of Beaucaire and Roger de Beaufort, Count of Alais, Viscount of Turenne and Lord of the Barony of Les Portes Bertrand. The case relates to the said barony. June 9th, 1382.

No seal but the manual signet of Jean Descamps, imperial notary.

LA CHAISE DIEU (Haute Loire. Arr^t Brioude).
 ABBEY.

58 [31].—Grant of the Priors of Lachau, Usson and Saillans to the Abbey for the foundation and upkeep of the college founded in the monastery by the late Pope Gregory XI. The grant is made in compliance with the latter's will by the Abbot André, one of the executors. May 6th, 1392.

Two seals missing, and the manual signet of Blaise Girard of St. Flour, imperial notary.

SAINT REMY (Bouches du Rhône, Arr^t Arles).

59 [32].—Transcript of the letters sent to the citizens of Saint Rémy by Raymond de Turenne. The latter reproach the former with having received Girard de Bourbon, a follower of Louis d'Anjou, King of Provence, and discussed the sending of ambassadors to Queen Mary, wife of Louis d'Anjou. Raymond de Turenne reminds the citizens of St. Rémy that they have sworn to be faithful to him and that the traitors will be duly punished. This transcript is made at Les Baux before the sending of the original. June 20th, 1393.

No seal but the manual signet of Jean Fressac of Nîmes, imperial notary.

PANASSAC and BÉON (Families).

60 [33].—Quitclaim by Pierre de Beon, to Galobie de Panassac, knt., of part of the dowry of his wife Solimane de Beon, daughter of the said Galobie. April 20th, 1406.

No seal but the manual signet of Pierre de Rosse, notary.

ROBERT CUQUES.

61 [34].—Power of attorney given by Robert Cuques, M.A. (Paris) to Pierre Mansuy, Pierre Langlois, Arnoul Picard, Jean du Four, Jean Coque and Nicolas Raquet, priests, to receive all money due to him from any benefice he owns or may own. August 19th, 1486.

No seal but the manual signet of Simon Paquet, imperial notary.

JACQUES DE CLERMONT, Lord of LA BATIE-DIVISIN.

62 [35].—Obligation of Jacques de Clermont, Lord of La Batie-Divisin (Isère, Arr^t La Tour du Pin, Con^t St. Gloire) to Louis, provost of Virieu-le-Grand (Ain, Arr^t Belley) for a sum of 40½ florins, money of Savoie. April 2nd, 1433.

No seal but the manual signet of Jean Fauchemartin (?) de Labussiere, clerk of the diocese of Geneva, imperial notary.

BEAUVAIS (Oise).

ABBAY OF SAINT QUENTIN. O.S.A.

63 [36].—Proceedings of a meeting of the Abbot Jean de Boubies and the canons concerning the rebuilding of the church destroyed by fire during the attack by the Burgundians, and the collection of money intended for this purpose. October 3rd, 1476.

No seal but the manual signet of Nicolas Le Fourbeux, apostolic notary.

LA CHAISE DIEU (Haute-Loire, Arr^t Brioude).

ABBAY.

64 [37].—Foundation of an *obit* by Jeanne de Norry, the wife of Louis de Beaufort, Marquess of Canillac and Count of Alais. October 10th, 1474.

Three seals missing.

65 [38].—Foundation of the *obit* of Abbot Rainault de Blot. October 20th, 1479.

One seal missing.

SENLIS (Oise).

ABBAY OF SAINT VINCENT. O.S.A.

66 [39].—Election of Robert Foulon as Abbot, on the death of Pierre Richevillain. January 18th, 1486.

One seal missing. Manual signet of Pierre Legier, apostolic notary.

FRANCESCO DI GIOVANNI DI SPAGNA.

67 [40].—General powers of attorney granted by Francesco di Giovanni di Spagna, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Pisa, to Pietro Alfonso to act for him in any matters in the Roman Court. March 19th, 1492.

No seal but the manual signet of Carlo di Giovanni di Ser Carlo di Verchiano, apostolic notary in Pisa.

The powers are authenticated by the Vicar General of the Archbp. of Pisa on the 21st of March. The seal of the Vicar General affixed directly on the vellum has been destroyed.

[R. 23196] 68-125 (32289).—A volume of the same size and kind as the preceding but without any drawings or etchings at the beginning, being the 2^d volume of this little collection, of which we know nothing except that it is probably of English origin, to judge by the title "Ecclesiastical Records" written on a label on the back of the two volumes.

[Latin MS. 200.]

SAINT FULGENT DES ORMES (Orne. Arr^t Mortagne).

68 [41].—Power of attorney given by Jean Chantepie, rector of

Saint Fulgent in the Diocese of Seez, to Robert Leschauve, a priest, and Thomas D , to exchange his benefice with Jean Racine, priest, rector of Launay [Launay-Villiers, Mayenne Arr^t Laval] in the Diocese of Le Mans. December 15th, 1508.

Manual signet of Jacques Lamoignon, apostolic notary.

69 [42].—Power of attorney given by Jean Guierlameine, rector of St. Fulgent, to Jean Racine, G. Pelizon, Michel Rahier and Pierre Villefollet, to act for him in the resignation of his benefice. December 1st, 1507.

Manual signet of Ambroise Ragereau, apostolic notary.

LA FERRIÈRE-AU-DOYEN (Orne. Arr^t Mortagne).

70 [43].—Damoiselle Marguerite Vippart, widow of Antoine du Boys, Dame de Drumaine and La Ferrière, presents Nicolas de Ronnay, Esq., priest, to the church of La Ferrière-au-Doyen, subject to the approval of the Bishop of Seez. December 4th, 1573. On the back, approval by Bp. Louis du Moulinet. Dec. 16th, 1573.

SAINT LHOMER (Orne, Arr^t Alençon, C^{on} Courtomer).

71 [44].—Catherine de Montberon, Dame de Cordey, presents Guillaume Brosset, priest, to the church of Saint Lhomer, subject to the approval of the Bishop of Seez. April 14th, 1524.

BRION (Saône-et-Loire, Arr^t Autun).

72 [45].—Power of attorney given by Jean Regnault, rector of the Church of Saint Pierre de Brion in the Diocese of Autun, to Jean Jeffriot, a canon of Autun, François Vigors, Jean Jurder and Denys Tauppon, to act for him in the resignation of his benefice. February 1st, 1521.

Manual signet of Guillaume Ferrant, apostolic notary.

CAMBRAI (Nord).

73 [46].—Power of attorney given by Regner Jean "de Enchusia," Doctor in Law, to Balthazar Fievestre and others, to negotiate the exchange of the chapel of St. Riquier in the church of Cambrai, against the church of St. Katherine in Mechlin. July 23rd, 1547.

Manual signet of Charles Bogaert, apostolic notary.

COURTEUIL (Oise, Arr^t Senlis).

PRIORY OF SAINT NICOLAS D'ACY. O.S.B.

74 [47].—Power of attorney given by Robert d'Espinay, precentor of Rennes, and prior "in commendam," to Olivier Racine, clerk of the Diocese of Rennes, Jacques Fevre of the Diocese of St. Malo, and

Guy Droillart, to negotiate the resignation of his priory with François de Lestrangle and Pierre Pomereu. June 8th, 1525.

Manual signet of Jean Meilleur, apostolic notary.

LIMOGES (Haute-Vienne).

SAINT-MICHEL-DE-PISTORIE (Church).

75 [48].—Power of attorney given by Pierre de Langle, rector of the church of St. Michel, to François "de Piscia," Jean Jorden and François "de Actanautis" to negotiate the former's resignation with Jean Pradel. June 27th, 1536.

Manual signet of Antoine de Garde, apostolic notary.

LEHON (Côtes-du-Nord, Arr^t Dinan).

PRIORY OF SAINT MAGLOIRE. O.S.B.

75^{bis} [49].—Power of attorney given by François Hamon, Bp. of Nantes, and Louis d'Acagne, Archdeacon of Lehon, to Bertrand Delice, Archdeacon of Dinan, Jean Galtra, rector of Plougastel, Godefroy Morel and Pierre Puveille, canons of Nantes, Jean Robin and François "de Piscia," to settle the matters relating to the priory of St. Magloire. May 6th, 1526.

Manual signet of Armel Desgrées, apostolic notary.

BEAUVAIS (Oise).

CATHEDRAL OF ST. PETER.

76 [50].—Power of attorney given by Robert Orget, chaplain of the Chantry of St. John, to Antoine Pilain and Pierre Dubus, to negotiate the resignation of his Chantry. March 10th, 1527.

Manual signet of Jean Duclerc, apostolic notary.

ABERCHIDER (Scotland, Co. Banff).

77 [51].—Power of attorney given by Gilbert Strachanch, apostolic protonotary (himself the attorney of John Thornton, a priest of the Diocese of St. Andrews) and John Innes, Canon of Ross, to John Daniele and others to settle the matters relating to the church of Aberchider in the Diocese of Moray. September 27th, 1526.

Manual signet of Patrick Trowp, apostolic notary.

AIGUILLON (Lot-et-Garonne, Arr^t Agen, Con^t Pont-Sainte-Marie).

PRIORY OF SAINT-CÔME, O.S.B.

78 [52].—Power of attorney given by Br. Jean Aymeric, monk of the Abbey of Clairac (Arr^t Marmande, Con^t Tonneins) and prior "in commendam" of St. Côme, for the exchange of this priory with

Jean Rousset, Abbot "in commendam" of St. Pierre de Vigeois (Corrèze. Arr^t Brives). Dec. 4th, 1556.

Manual signet of Pierre de Casebonne, apostolic notary.

SOISSONS (Aisne).

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

79 [53].—Power of attorney given by Nicolas Hennequin, a councillor of the King in his Parliament, prior "in commendam" of the Priory of La Gravière, O.S.A. (Nievre. C^{on} Pougues) for the settlement of the matters concerning the Chapel of the Holy Trinity in the Cathedral of Soissons, with the canonicate and prebend attached to this Chapel, vacant by the resignation of Etienne Cousin. January 26th, 1530.

Manual signet of Jean de la Fontaine, apostolic notary.

PARIS (Seine).

UNIVERSITY. COLLEGE OF SEEZ.

80 [54].—Power of attorney given by Michel Foucqueroi, a clerk of the Diocese of Seez and a scholar of the college, for the resignation of his scholarship. February, 1533.

Manual signet of Jean Berthelot, apostolic notary.

81 [55].—Fragment of another power of attorney for the resignation of a scholarship in the said college.

Manual signet of Laurent Vallée, apostolic notary.

LIANCOURT-FOSSE (Somme. Arr^t Montdidier).

82 [56].—Power of attorney given by Mathieu Fullier, rector of St. Médard de Liancourt, a dependance of the Abbey of Notre Dame at Ham (Somme, Arr^t Peronne), for the exchange of his church with Robert Bouchart, rector of St. Martin de Chauny (Aisne, Arr^t Laon). March 8th, 1534.

Manual signet of Pierre Gadez, apostolic notary.

MONTCRESSON (Loiret, Arr^t Montargis, C^{on} Chatillon-sur-Loing).

83 [57].—Power of attorney given by Pierre Faussart, "junior priest" of Montcresson, to negotiate his appointment as rector of the said church. June 27th, 1570.

Manual signet of Jean Renauld, notary.

EVREUX (Eure).

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

84 [58].—Power of attorney given by Thomas Aubrey, a canon of Evreux, for the resignation of his canonicate and prebend. Nov. 22nd, 1550.

Manual signet of Jean Lemer cier, apostolic notary.

FAREMOUTIER (Seine-et-Marne), Arr^t Coulommiers).

ABBEY OF NOTRE DAME. O.S.B.

85 [59].—Power of attorney given by Pierre Le Turc, chaplain of the chapelry of St. Michael in the church of N.D. de Faremoutier, to resign his benefice into the hands of the Abbess. June 30th, 1541.

Manual signet of Noel Bertrand, apostolic notary.

EVREUX (Eure).

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

86 [60].—Power of attorney given by Jacques de Poitiers, a clerk of Avignon, to negotiate his appointment to the benefice of Thomas Aubrey (see No. 84), Nov. 22^d, 1550.

Manuel signet of Jean Lemercier, apostolic notary.

VERRINES (Deux-Sèvres, Arr^t. Melle).

87 [61].—Power of attorney given by Jean Burria, a priest of Rocamadour in the diocese of Cahors, rector of the church of St. Laurine, known as Le Verine, in the diocese of Saintes, to resign the said church. May 5th, 1555.

Manuel signet of Pierre de Vitry, royal notary.

CORDOVA (Spain).

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

88 [62].—A bull of Pope Paul IV appointing Pedro Gomez de Artiaga as chaplain of the Chapel of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. November 5th, 1556.

Paulus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Magistro Petro Gomez de Artiaga, perpetuo capellano ad altare Undecim Millium Virginum et sancti Acacii ac sociorum in capella cantoris Aquayo nuncupata, sita in ecclesia Cordubense, scriptori et familiari nostro, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Grata devotionis et familiaritatis obsequia que nobis et apostolice sedi hactenus impendisti et adhuc sollicitis studiis impendere non desistis, necnon vita ac morum honestas aliisque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita quibus personam tuam etiam fide dignorum testimoniis juvari percepimus, nos inducunt ut tibi reddamur ad gratiam liberales. Cum itaque, sicut accepimus, perpetua capellania ad altare Undecim Millium Virginum et sancti Acacii ac sociorum in capella cantoris Aquayo nuncupata, sita in ecclesia Cordubense, quam quondam Antonius Garsie, olim ad ipsum altare perpetuus capellanus dum viveret, obtinebat, per obitum ipsius Antonii qui extra Romanam Curiam diem clausit extremum aut alias certo modo vacaverit et

vacet ad presens, Nos, in quorum manibus dilectus filius Magister Antonius Mudarra, clericus Palentinus, scriptor et familiaris noster, asserens se alias capellaniam predictam ut prefertur vacantem vigore litterarum gratie expectative sibi per felicitis recordationis Julium papam III, predecessorem nostrum, sub certis modo et forma concessarum, prout ex illarum forma poterat infra tempus debitum accepisse et de illa sibi provideri obtinuisse omni viri sibi in dicta capellania vel ad illam quomodolibet competenti illius possessione per eum non habita hodie sponte et libere cessit, quique cessionem hujusmodi duximus admittendam tibi, premissorum obsequiorum et meritorum tuorum intuitu specialem gratiam facere volentes, teque a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et penis a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodatus existis, ad effectum presentium dumtaxat consequendum harum serie absolventes et absolutum fore censes. Necnon omnia et singula beneficia ecclesiastica cum cura et sine cura que etiam ex quibusvis dispensationibus apostolicis obtines et expectas ac in quibus et ad que jus tibi quomodolibet competit, quecumque, quotcumque et qualiacumque sint, eorumque fructuum, reddituum et proventuum veros annuos valores necnon dispensationum hujusmodi tenores presentibus pro expressis habentes, capellaniam predictam que sine cura est ac cujus et illi forsan annexorum fructus, redditus et proventus viginti quatuor ducatorum auri de camera secundum communem estimationem valorem annuum ut asseris non excedunt, sive ut premittitur, sive alias, quovis modo aut ex alterius cujuscumque persona, seu per liberam resignationem primodicti Antonii vel cujusvis alterius de illa in dicta curia vel extra eam etiam coram notario publico et testibus sponte factam, aut assecutionem alterius beneficii ecclesiastici quavis auctoritate collati vacet, etiam si tanto tempore vacaverit quod ejus collatio, juxta Lateranensis statuta concilii, ad sedem predictam legitime devoluta ipsaque Capellania dispositioni apostolice specialiter vel qualiter reservata existat et super ea inter aliquos lis cujus statum et merita cause ac nomina et cognomina judicum et collitigantium seu se molestantium presentibus haberi volumus pro expressis pendeat indecisa dummodo tempore datur presentium non sit in ea alicui specialiter jus quesitum cum annexis hujusmodi ac omnibus juribus et pertinentiis suis, apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus et de illa etiam providemus. Quocirca venerabilibus fratribus nostris Liparensi et Giennensi ac dilecto filio priori ecclesie Giennensis per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus ipsi, vel duo

aut unus eorum per se vel alium seu alios, te vel procuratorem tuum nomine tuo in corporalem possessionem Capellanie et annexorum juriumque et pertinentiarum predictorum inducant auctoritate nostra et defendant inductum. Amoto exinde quolibet illicito detentore facientes te, vel pro te procuratorem predictum, ad capellaniam hujusmodi ut est modis admitti tibi que de illius ac annexorum eorumdem fructibus, redditibus, proventibus, juribus et obventionibus universis integre responderi, contradictores, auctoritate nostra, appellatione postposita, compescendo. Non obstantibus pie memorie Bonifacii pape VIII etiam predecessoris nostri et aliis apostolicis constitutionibus ac dicte ecclesie Cordubensis juramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus, ac dicte capellanie fundatione, etiam si in illa ac statutis et consuetudinibus predictis caveatur expresse quod nullus capellaniam predictam obtinere possit si alia beneficia ecclesiastica obtineat et nisi de certo genere personarum ac certo modo qualificatarum et in presbyteratus et aliis sacris ordinibus constitutus ac alias certis inibi expressis modo et forma qualificatus existat, et si per sexaginta dies seu aliud tempus ab ipsa capellania seu ipsius servitio absens fuerit, dicta capellania privatus existat vel privandus veniat. Quibus etiam, si pro illorum sufficienti derogatione de illis eorumque totis tenoribus specialis specifica et expressa mentio habenda foret tenores hujusmodi ac si de verbo ad verbum insererentur, presentibus pro sufficienter expressis et insertis habentes illis alias in suo robore permansuris, hac vice dumtaxat specialiter et expresse derogamus. Quodque tu, alia beneficia ecclesiastica ut prefertur obtineas, et in in presbyteratus et aliis ordinibus predictis constitutus, et alias juxta fundationem ac statuta predicta qualificatus non sis, contrariis quibuscumque aut si aliqui super provisionibus sibi faciendis de hujusmodi vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis in illis partibus speciales vel generales dicte sedis vel Legatorum ejus litteras impetrarunt etiam si per eas ad inhibitionem, reservationem et decretum vel alias quomodolibet sit processum. Quibus omnibus te in assecutione dicte capellanie volumus anteferri sed nullum per hoc eis quoad assecutionem beneficiorum aliorum prejudicium generari, seu si venerabili fratri nostro Episcopo et dilectis filiis Capitulo Cordubensibus vel quibusvis aliis, communiter vel divisim, ab eadem sit sede indultum quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicujus minime teneantur et ad id compelli aut quod interdici suspendi vel excommunicari non possint. Quodque de hujusmodi vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis ad eorum collationem provisionem putationem, seu quamvis aliam dispositionem,

conjunctum vel separatim spectantibus nulli valeat provideri per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem. Et qualibet alia dicte sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali cujuscumque tenoris existat per quam presentibus non expressam vel totaliter non insertam effectus hujusmodi gratie impediri valeat quomodolibet vel differri et de qua cujusque toto tenore habenda sit in vestris litteris mentio specialis, seu si presens non fueris ad prestandum de observandis statutis et consuetudinibus dicte ecclesie Cordubensis solitum juramentum, dummodo in absentia tua per procuratorem idoneum et cum ad ecclesiam ipsam accesseris corporaliter illud prestes. Nos enim exnunc irritum decernimus et mane si secus super hiis a quocumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre absolutionis, collationis, provisionis, mandati, derogationis, voluntatis et decreti infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto Non. Novembris Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

No seal. The fold has been cut.

FAREMOUTIER (Seine et Marne, Arr^t. Coulommiers).

ABBAY OF NOTRE DAME. O.S.B.

89 [63].—Confirmation by Jean du Tillet, Bp. of Meaux, of the election of Marie Viole as Abbess. January 4th, 1567.

Seal missing.

BERNAY-SUR-ORNE (Orne, Arr^t. Argentan).

90 [64].—Guy de Monceaux, knt., Lord of Hommiers-en-Bray, presents Louis Munier, priest, to the church of Bernay, subject to the Bishop of Seez's approval. 1563. (Cut on the right side.)

LONGUEIL-SAINTE-MARIE (Oise, Arr^t. Compiègne).

91 [65].—Power of attorney given by Charles Briçonnet, a clerk of the diocese of Paris, for the resignation of the Church of Longueil, March 17th, 1569.

Manuel signet of Nicholas Mourelle, apostolic notary.

FOULBEC (Eure, Arr^t. Pont. Audemer).

92 [66].—Power of attorney given by Guillaume Duval, priest, for the resignation of the Church of St. Martin. Sept. 26th, 1570.

Manual signet of Jean de la Ville, apostolic notary.

SEN LIS (Oise).

PRIORY OF SAINT MAURICE, O.S.A.

93 [67].—Bull of Pope Gregory XIII approving the election of Nicos Saulnier as prior. May 25th, 1572.

Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Nicolao Saulnier, priori prioratus sancti Mauricii Silvanectensis, ordinis sancti Augustini canonicorum regularium, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Rationi congruit et convenit honestati ut ea que de Romani Pontificis gratia processerunt, licet, ejus superveniente obitu, littere apostolice super illis confecte non fuerint, suum fortiantur effectum. Dudum per felicis recordationis Pium papam V predecessorem nostrum accepto quod prioratus conventualis et vere electivus sancti Mauritii Silvanectensis, ordinis sancti Augustini canonicorum regularium, quem quondam Joannes Hotman ipsius prioratus prior dum viveret obtinebat, per obitum dicti Johannis qui extra Romanam Curiam diem clausit extremum aut alias certo modo vacaverat et tunc vacabat, idem predecessor volens tibi canonico dicti prioratus asserenti te ordinem ipsum inibi expresse professum existere quem charissimus in Christo filius noster, tunc suus, Carolus Francorum Rex christianissimus, vigore concordatorum dudum inter sedem apostolicam et clare memorie Franciscum Francorum Regem tunc in humanis agentem super nominatione personarum certis inibi expressis modis qualificatarum ad monasteria et prioratus conventuales et vere electivos regni Francie pro tempore vacantes promovendarum per Regem Francie pro tempore existentem facienda initorum, et deinde ad monasteria et prioratus privilegium eligendi habentia ad ipsius Caroli regis vitam apostolica auctoritate extensorum, eidem predecessori ad id per suas litteras nominaverat, apud eundem predecessorem de religionis zelo, vite ac morum honestate, aliisque probitatis et virtutum meritis multipliciter commendato horum intuitu gratiam facere specialem, teque a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et penis a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodatus existebas, ad effectum infrascriptorum duntaxat consequendum absolvens et absolutum jore censens, sub datis viz. sexto Id. Januarii, Pontificatus sui anno tertio, prioratum predictum, cujus et illi forsan annexorum fructu, redditus et proventus viginti quatuor denariorum auri de camera secundum communem existimationem valorem annuum ut etiam asserebas non excedebat, sive ut premittitur

sive alias, quovismodo aut ex alterius cujuscumque persona, seu per liberam resignationem dicti Joannis vel cujusvis alterius de illo in dicta curia vel extra eam etiam coram notario publico et testibus sponte factam, aut constitutionem felicitis recordationis Joannis pape XXII, etiam predecessoris nostri, que incipit "execrabilis" vel assecutionem alterius beneficii ecclesiastici, quavis auctoritate collati seu quacumque collatione, provisione aut quavis alia dispositione de illo quovismodo vacante cuicumque persone quavis auctoritate facta propter illius inhabilitatem, incapacitatem aut irregularitatem vel alias ex quavis causa nulla et invalida existente seu effectum sortiri nequeunte aut alias quomodocumque et qualitercumque vacaret, etiam si tanto tempore vacavisset, quod ejus collatio juxta Lateranensis statuta concilii ad sedem predictam legitime devoluta, ipseque prioratus dispositioni apostolice specialiter vel qualiter reservatus existeret, eique cura etiam jurisdictionalis immineret animarum, super eo quoque inter aliquos lis cujus statum ac verum et ultimum dicti prioratus vacationis modum etiam si ex illo quevis generalis reservatio etiam in corpore juris clausa resultaret, idem Pius predecessor haberi voluit pro expressis penderet indecisa dummodo dicta die sexto Id. Januarii non esset in eo alicui specialiter jus quesitum cum annexis hujusmodi ac omnibus juribus et pertinentiis suis tibi dicta apostolica auctoritate contulit et de illo etiam providit. Decernens extunc irritum et inane si secus super hiis a quoque quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter, contingeret acceptari. Non obstantibus recolende memorie Bonifacii pape VIII, similiter predecessoris nostri, et aliis apostolicis constitutionibus ac prioratus et ordinis predictorum statutis et consuetudinibus contrariis quibuscumque. Aut si pro alio vel aliis in dicto prioratu scripta apostolica forsitan essent directa, seu si aliqui super provisionibus sibi faciendis de prioratibus hujusmodi speciales vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis in illis partibus generales dicte sedis vel Legatorum ejus litteras impetrassent, etiam si per eas ad inhibitionem, reservationem et decretum vel alias quomodolibet esset processum, quibus omnibus idem Pius predecessor te in assecutione dicti prioratus voluit antefferri sed nullum per id eis qua id assecutionem Prioratum vel beneficiorum aliorum prejudicium generari, seu si venerabili fratri nostro Episcopo Silvanectendi vel quibusvis aliis, communiter vel divisim, ab eadem esset sede indultum quod ad receptionem vel provisionem alicujus minime tenerentur et ad id compelli aut quod interdicti suspendi vel excommunicari non possent, quodque de prioratibus hujusmodi vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis ad eorum collationem, provisionem, presentationem, electionem seu quavis aliam dispositionem

conjunctim vel separatim spectantibus nulli valeret provideri per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem. Et qualibet alia dicte sedis indulgentia generali vel speciali cujuscunque tenoris existeret, per quam litteris ipsius Pii predecessoris nostri si desuper confecte fuissent non expressam vel totaliter non insertam effectus hujusmodi gratie impediri valeret quomodolibet vel differi, et de qua cujusque tenore habenda esset in eisdem litteris mentio specialis ne autem de absolutione, collatione, provisione, decreto et voluntate premissis pro eo quod super illis dicti Pii predecessoris, ejus superveniente obitu, littere confecte non fuerunt valeat quomodolibet hesitari tuque illorum frustreris effectum, volumus et simili apostolica auctoritate decernimus quod absolutio, collatio, provisio, decretum et voluntas Pii predecessoris hujusmodi perinde a dicta die sexto Id. Januarii suum fortiantur effectum ac si super illis dicti Pii predecessoris littere sub ejusdem diei dato confecte fuissent prout superius enarratur; quodque presentes littere ad probandum plene absolutionem, collationem, provisionem, decretum et voluntatem Pii predecessoris hujusmodi ibique sufficiant nec ad id probationis alterius adminiculum requiratur. Quocirca, dilectis filiis Silvanectensi et Parisiensi ac Senonensi officialibus per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus ipsi, vel duo aut unus eorum per se vel alium seu alios, te recepto prius a te nostro et Romane ecclesie nomine fidelitatis debite solite juramento juxta formam quam sub bulla nostra mittimur introclusam vel procuratorem tuum nomine tuo in corporalem possessionem prioratus et annexorum juriumque et pertinentiarum predictorum inducant auctoritate nostra et defendant inductum. Amoto exinde quolibet illicito detentore facientes te vel pro te procuratorem predictum ad prioratum hujusmodi ut est moris admitti, tibiue de illius et annexorum eorundem fructibus, redditibus, proventibus, juribus et obventionibus universis integre responderi, contradictores dicta auctoritate nostra appellatione postposita compescendo. Non obstantibus omnibus supradictis. [N]ulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre voluntatis, decreti et mandati infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. [S]i quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis dominice millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo secundo octavo Kl. Junii Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Seal missing.

on the fold : *D. de Pirotis* *Gross. septem*
 under the fold : *D. Balbus* *C. Burghesius* *B. Melchiorius*
 A. Vedianus *F. de Franchiis*
 P. Saternus

Citta Verdinus

on the back : *R^{ta} in camera apostolica.* *A. Cammillus.*

d^o (in the left corner) : *Le samedi septieme jour de Janvier l'an mil cinq cens soixante et seze le contenu de l'autre pie a esté insinué en registre des insinuations du diocese de Senlis foeuillets CXIII., XIII., et XV. Ce requerant en personne relligieuse personne frere Nicolas Paulmier.*

De Sainct Gobert.

ESPAGNAC (Correze. Arr^t. Tulle).

94 [68].—Muster of a company of "Arquebusiers" under Captain Jean de Rochelongue, Lord of Rocheblave, made before the officials and consuls of the town. April 1st, 1575.

AMULET.

94^{bis} [69].—Prayers in French, supposed to have been sent by a pope to King Charles before the latter's departure to war and supposed to protect the bearer from any evil. (xviith cent.).

SENLIS (Oise).

ABBAY OF NOTRE DAME DE LA VICTOIRE. O.S.A.

95 [70].—Proceedings of the notification of a bull of Pope Calixtus III. dated Nov. 8th, 1455 (of which the text is inserted) appointing Pierre de Crecy and Jean Scabin to put Simon Bonnet, Bp. of Senlis, in possession of the Abbey vacant by the resignation of Jean Marescot. June 3rd, 1458.

Two seals missing.

Manual signets of Pierre Forme and Pierre de Puymorel, apostolic notaries.

NEAUPHLE-LE-VIEUX (Seine et Oise, Arr^t Rambouillet).

ABBAY OF SAINT PIERRE. O.S.B.

96 [71].—A settlement of the dispute between Br. Simon Tusseautine, provost of the monastery, and Jean Lhomme, abbot of the same monastery, concerning the abbot's rights on the tithes. January 20th, 1513.

Manual signet of Adrien Rabache, apostolic notary.

ANGERS (Maine-et-Loire).

UNIVERSITY. COLLEGE OF BUEIL.

97 [72].—Power of attorney given by Jean du Merle, alias Villart,

a Licentiate in Law and a priest of the diocese of Agen, to resign his scholarship into the hands of the Bishop of Seez. June 1st, 1541.

Manual signet of Jean de Vourmes, notary.

PARIS (Seine).

UNIVERSITY. COLLEGE OF SEEZ.

98 [73].—Power of attorney from . . . Boullay, to resign his scholarship into the hands of the Bp of Seez. July 16th, 1540.

(Imperfect). Manual signet of Dominique Riousse, notary.

SENLIS (Oise).

BISHOP'S OFFICIALITY.

99 [74].—Brief of Pope Paul V giving license to be married to Jean Le Ber. May 13th, 1616.

PAULUS PP. V.—*Dilecte fili salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Exponi nobis nuper fecit dilectus filius Joannes Le Ber, clericus Carnotensis diocesis, in diocesi Silvanectense a viginti duobus annis commorans, quod eum alias ipse ad laicalia vota aspirans sponsalia per verba de futuro cum quadam puella Ambianensis diocesis contraxisset et matrimonium cum ea per verba de presenti contrahere intendens, proclamationes juxta Concilii decreta ac alias de more patrie fieri solitas in parrochiali ecclesia sive solite residentie in dicta diocesi Silvanectensi fieri fecisset seu procurasset, dilectus filius Petrus etiam Le Ber ipsius exponentis frater sive alter ejus consanguineus ad dictas proclamationes se opposuit et coram te exponentem predictum curavit citari eidemque inhiberi ne ulterius ad solemnia matrimonii hujusmodi progrediretur, asserens eundem exponentem non modo clericum prout se esse fatetur sed etiam ad omnes sacros et presbiteratus ordines promotum extitisse illosque a venerabili fratre Episcopo Olorenensi suscepisse instetit quamquidem inhibitionem exhibitis in judicio quibusdam super pretensa hujusmodi promotione falsis litteris ipsi exponenti a te fieri obtinuit. Cum autem, sicut eadem expositio subjungebat in rei veritate, exponens predictus qui alioquin litterarum imperitus et ad ordinum sacrorum susceptionem minus idoneus extitit, nedum ordines predictos non suscepit sed nequidem unquam in diocesi Olonenensi (sic) fuerit quinimo date litterarum se semper in civitate seu diocesi Silvanectensi remansisse nec ab ea abfuisse probaverit. Cupiatque, falsis allegationibus ac desuper productis litteris hujusmodi non obstantibus, se matrimonium per verba de presenti cum dicta puella seu alia quacumque nullo alias sibi jure prohibita muliere contrahere posse, prolemque exinde perventuram legitimam fore judicialiter declarari facere. Id vero absque speciali nostro et sedis Apostolice rescripto, attento quod aliter*

et sine eo tu super declaratione hujusmodi procedens recusasti, obtinere non possit. Nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecit exponens predictus quatinus causam et causas declarationis hujusmodi necnon quam et quas idem exponens super premissis contra Petrum predictum omnesque alios sua interesse putantes habet et movet, habereque et movere vult et intendit, cum omnibus et singulis suis incidentibus, dependentibus, annexis et connexis totoque negotio presenti etiam summarie prout in beneficalibus, tibi audienti cognoscentes, fineque debito terminanti et decidenti cum potestate etiam per edictum publicum constituto de non tuto accessu dictum Petrum omnesque alios quos opus fuerit citanti eis ac quibus inhibentes erit et sub censuris et penis inhibenti, necnon Parrocho seu Parrochis cui seu quibus competit ut ad proclamationes predictas et alias dicti matrimonii ecclesiasticas solemnitates ulterius procedere poterint et valeant, licentiam quatinus de jure impertiendi ceteraque in premissis necessaria et opportuna faciendi, exercendi et exequendi, premissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, committere ac alias eis in premissis opportune providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur eundem exponentem a quibusvis excommunicationis suspendens et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et penis a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodatus existit, ad effectum presentium duntaxat consequentes harum serie absolventes et absolutum fore sententes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, discretioni tue per presentes comittimus et mandamus quatinus vocatis ad id qui fuerint evocandi in premissis omnibus et singulis auctoritate nostra facias et declares prout de jure fuerit faciendum et declarandum. Datum Rome apud sanctam Mariam Majorem sub Anulo Piscatoris Die decima tertia Maii MDCXVI, Pontificatus nostri anno undecimo.

[Signed] *F. Mattheius.*

[Endorsed] *Dilecto filio officiali Silvanectensi.*

RENNES (Il et Vilaine).

BISHOPRIC.

100 [75].—Form of the oath sworn by Louis Auguste Le Tonnelier de Breteuil, bishop elect of Rennes, before his consecration. 1725.

SAINT-FULGENT-DES-ORMES (Orne, Arr^t Mortagne).

101 [76].—Appointment of Jacques Brisart as "procureur fiscal" of the barony of St. Fregent. Sept. 20th, 1646.

Signature of Jacques Camus, Bp. of Seez.

FRESNÉ-LA-MÈRE (Calvados, Arr^t Falaise).

102 [77].—François de Rouxel de Medavy, Archbp. of Rouen, Abbot "in commendam" of Saint André en Gouffern, presents Pierre Moynet to the church of Fresné-la-Mère, subject to the Bishop of Seez's approval. January 23rd, 1674.

Signature of François de Rouxel de Medavy.

SENLIS (Oise).

BISHOPRIC. OFFICIALITY.

103 [78].—Brief of Pope Innocent X. authorizing the marriage of Jean Musnier to Jacqueline Fresnot. Oct. 15th, 1650.

INNOCENTIUS PP. X.—*Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Oblata nobis nuper pro parte dilectorum filiorum Joannis Musnier, laici, et Jacobee Fresnot mulieris, Silvanectensis diocesis, petitio continebat quod ipsis alias sciendis se secundo in linea requali consanguinitatis gradu invicem esse conjunctos non quidem peccandi data opera ut crimine admissio hec confessio foret nos et sedem apostolicam ad misericordiam et gratiam erga ipsos faciliores reddendo, sponsalia inter se per verba de futuro contraxerunt et carnis fragilitate devicti se carnaliter cognoverunt. Cum autem, sicut eadem expositio subjungebat, nisi matrimonium inter dictos exponentes contrahatur dicta Jacobea graviter diffamata et innupta remaneret, graviusque exinde scandala orirentur et dictis exponentibus vite periculum immineret, cupiant exponentes predicti invicem matrimonialiter copulari, sed stante impedimento hujusmodi, desiderium eorum hac in parte adimplere non possunt absque sedis Apostolice dispensatione. Ideo nobis humiliter supplicari fecerunt exponentes predicti ut eis in premissis de absolutionis beneficio et opportunitate dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur, qui salutem querimus cunctarum et scandalis quantum cum Domino possumus libenter obviamus, certam de premissis notitiam non habentes, ipsosque exponentes specialis gratie favore prosequi volentes, necnon eorum quemlibet a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et penis a jure vel ab nomine quavis preterquam premissorum occasione vel causa latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existunt, ad effectum presentium dumtaxat consequenter harum serie absolventes et absolutos fore censentes hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati discretioni tue, de qua plenam in Domino fiduciam habemus, per presentes comittimus et mandamus quatinus, deposita per te omni spe cujuscumque muneris aut premii etiam sponte oblata, a quo te omnino abstinere debere monemus, de premissis te diligenter informes*

et per informationem . . . veritate niti repereris, super quo conscientiam tuam oneramus, eosdem exponentes qui, ut ipsi asserunt, pauperes et miserabiles existunt ac ex sis labore et industria tamen vivunt, inprimis ad invicem separe; deinde si veniam a te petierint humiliter, imposita eis propter incestum . . . arbitrio tuo gravi penitentia salutari, et recepto prius ab eis juramento quod sub spe facilius habende dispensationis hujusmodi incestum hunc non comiserint et quod talia deinceps non comittent, neque comittentibus prestabunt auxilium, consilium vel favorem et quatinus contra ipsos exponentes causa super premissis in judicium quoquo modo deducta fuerit, parito judicato, auctoritate nostra hac vic dumtaxat absolvas in forma ecclesie consueta. Demum si tibi expediens videbitur quod dispensatio hujusmodi sit eis concedenda, nec scandalum sit ex ea oriturum, super quo conscientiam tuam etiam oneramus, cum eisdem exponentibus ut postquam in separatione predicta arbitrio tuo perseveraverint et dummodo dicta Jacobea propter hoc rapta non fuerit, ipsique exponentes pauperes et miserabiles existant ac ex suis labore et industria tamen vivant ut predictur, quod impedimento secunde consanguinitatis gradus in linea equali hujusmodi ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus, matrimonium inter se publice, servata forma concilii Tridentini, contrahere illudque in facie ecclesie solemnizare et in eo postmodum remanere libere et licite valeant, dicta auctoritate dispenses, prolem susceptam si qua sit et suscipiendam exinde legitimam decernendo. Volumus autem quod si tu sprete monitione nostra hujusmodi aliquid muneris aut premii occasione absolutionis et dispensationis par te exigere vel oblatum recipere te merere presumpseris, excommunicationis sententia tamdiu innodatus existas donec a sede predicta absolveris beneficium per satisfactionem condignam merueris obtinere et nihilominus absolutio et dispensatio a te faciende parte nullius sint roboris vel momenti. Datum Rome apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem sub anulo Piscatoris die XV Octobris MDCL, Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

[Signed] *A. Homodeus.*

[Endorsed] *Dilecto filio Officiali Silvanectensi.*

FAVEROLLES (Orne, Arr^t Argentan).

104 [79].—Fernand de Neufville, Bp. of St. Malo, Abbot "in commendam" of Saint-Wandrille, presents Nicolas Mesley, a priest of the Diocese of Le Mans, to the Church of Faverolles, subject to the Bishop of Seez's approval. June 1650.

Signature of Fernand de Neufville.

ALTOMONTE (Italy, Province of Cosenza).

105 [80].—Vidimus of a privilege dated 1535 appointing Angelo Biscardo as Archpriest of Altomonte in the Diocese of Cassano. March 10th, 1555.

Signature of Pietro de' Assacati, Dean of Cassano, and remains of his seal.

LIHONS-EN-SANTERRE (Somme, Arr^t Peronne).

PRIORY. Ord. Clun.

106 [81].—Isaac Habert, Vicar General of the Cardinal Abbot General of the Order of Cluny, appoints Arnoul Mousseaux, prior of Crépy-en-Valois, to investigate the case of the priory of Lihons where the monks are discontented. June 19th, 1630.

One seal missing.

PARIS (Seine).

ARCHBISHOPRIC. OFFICIALITY.

107 [82].—Certificate of the ordination of Nicolas Choart, priest, made in the Church of St. Magloire. May 15th, 1650.

One seal missing.

LISIEUX (Calvados).

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

107^{bis} [83].—Power of attorney given by Nicolas de la Porte, prebendary of Survilles, for the resignation of his prebend. Aug. 25th, 1556.

Manual signet of Pierre Rochon, notary.

BEAUVAIS (Oise).

CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

108 [84].—Appointment of Pierre Guillet as vicar of the treasurer André de Berliau. Aug. 1st, 1698.

Signature of Andre de Berliau, seal missing.

SAINT-FULGENT-DES-ORMES (Orne, Arr^t Mortagne).

109 [85].—Charlotte de Mice de Guespray, Abbess of Saint-Julien-du-Pré in the Diocese of Seez, presents Charles Chevalier, a deacon of the said diocese, to the church of St. Frogent, subject to the Bishop of Seez's approval. July 31st, 1659.

Signature of St Charlotte de Mice de Guespray.

BEAUMONT-LES-NONAINS (Oise, Arr^t Beauvais).

110 [86].—Jacques Langlois, Vicar of the Archbp. of Rouen for Pontoise and the French Vexin, sanctions the appointment of Nicolas

Fortier, priest, as rector of the church of Beaumont, appointment made by the Abbot of Marcheroux, patron of the said church. Dec. 11th, 1664.

Seal missing.

REBAIS (Seine et Marne, Arr^t Coulommiers).

PRIORY OF ST. AILE, O.S.B.

111 [87].—Henri Charles de Foix, Abbot "in commendam" of Saint Pierre de Rebais, O.S.B., appoints as prior of St. Aile, Br. René de Rellic. April 12th, 1662.

Signature and seal of Charles de Foix.

TOULOUSE (Haute-Garonne).

UNIVERSITY.

112 [88].—Patent of the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred upon Claude Chirol, of the diocese of St. Flour. Sept 13th, 1686.

Signatures of the Board of Examiners.

BEAUVAIS (Oise).

BISHOPRIC.

113 [89].—Toussaint de Forbin-Janson, Bp. of Beauvais, appoints as his sarjeant for the Baillage and County of Beauvais and as "vidame" of Gerberoy, Ferrand de la Lande. January 26th, 1682.

Signature of Toussaint de Forbin-Janson. Seal missing.

SAINT LHOMER (Orne, Arr^t. Alençon).

114 [90].—François de Beauvoisier, knt., Lord of Le Coudray, presents - ? - to the church of St. Lhomer, subject to the approval of the Bishop of Seez. March 27th, 15 . . .

(Imperfect.) Signature of F. de Beauvoisier. Seal missing.

BAR-SUR-AUBE (Aube).

COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF SAINT MACLOU.

115 [91].—Appointment of Claude Pailloi as one of the canons of the said church. June 29th, 1623.

Signature of the Dean, Philippe de Lenoncourt.

BEAUVAIS (Oise).

BISHOPRIC.

116 [92].—Appointment of Antoine Ransson, priest, to the deanery of La Montagne. April 24th, 1629.

Signature of Augustin Pothier, Bp. of Beauvais.

GOMERFONTAINE (Oise, Arr^t. Beauvais, C^{ae} Tric-la-Ville).

ABBEY.

117 [93].—Profession of Sister Florence Cossart (Aug. 23rd, 1716).

118 [94].—Profession of Sister Lucie de Nayville (Nov. 13th, 1716).

119 [95].—Profession of Sister Sophie de Biencourt (Aug. 23rd, 1716).

120 [96].—Profession of Sister Delphine Rosset (May 17th, 1733).

All with signatures of the Abbess and witnesses.

FRANÇOIS MALLET.

121 [97].—Ratification by the king of the transfer to François Mallet, president of the Chambre des Comptes in Paris, of two rents, respectively of £107 4s. and £65 6s. 8d., which the said Mallet claims as his grandmother's heir. April 29th, 1723.

Seal missing.

GOMERFONTAINE (Oise, Arr^t. Beauvais, C^{ne} Trie-la-Ville).

ABBEY.

122 [98].—Profession of Sister Marie Eleonore Aubery. May 15th, 1724.

Signature of the Abbess and witnesses.

CHARLES BARON.

123 [99].—Ratification by the king of the cession to Charles Baron, comptroller general of the "Rentes" on the Hotel de Ville, by Philippe Auburger of Paris, of a rent of £358 1s. 8d. May 27th, 1677.

Seal missing.

CONSERANS [SAINT-LIZIER] (Ariege).

124 [100].—Receipt for a sum of £1783 paid by the receiver of the tithes of the Diocese of Conserans to the "Intendant Général des Affaires temporelles du Clergé de France." July 7th, 1723.

Printed form, filled and signed.

D'AGAY (Family).

125 [101].—Note of hand from J. G. d'Agay, Bp. of Perpignan, promising to pay to his nephew, M. d'Agay, Maître des Requêtes, a pension of 2000 francs. April 2nd, 1785.

Signature.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

[R. 35666] 126-145 (9943).—A collection of twenty records bound in one volume under the title: *Deeds relating to the county of Stafford, Henry VIII-James I*, and all relating to persons or lands of Staffordshire.

126.—Rental of the Manor of Whittington, 1507-1509. A roll.

127.—Letters patent of Henry VIII. for John Blount, Esq., son of

Thomas Blount, exempting him from paying relief for his father's succession. Feb. 10th, 1526.

Fragment of the great seal in white wax.

128.—Inquisitio post mortem of Thomas Grey of Enville.

Fifteen seals missing.

129.—Lease of the land of Joyce Worsley al. Ashby and of the manor of Cannock, by George Ashby of Leicester, gent., to Edward Sprotte of Ashmore brook, for £66 13s. 4d. July 22nd, 1561.

Signature and seal of George Ashby.

130.—A writ of the Court of wards and liveries of Queen Elizabeth to put John Grey, Esq., son and heir of the late Thomas Grey, in possession of his inheritance. With a survey of the late Thomas Grey's estate. Feb. 15th, 1562.

Signature and seal of Sir William Cecil, Master of the Court.

131.—Settlement made by Richard Tomkis of Bilston and Margaret Greswall of Barnhurst for the marriage of John Tomkis and Elinore Greswall. Sept. 18th, 1573.

Seal missing.

132.—Feoffment of a cottage and land in West Bromwich by William Taylor to William Hunt. Jan. 26th, 1577.

Seal missing.

133.—An appeal before the Queen in the lawsuit Archibold *v.* Astbroke. June 4th, 1578. A roll.

134-136.—Feoffment of lands in Wolverhampton by William Batche of Over Penn to William Baylie of Wolverhampton. February 10th, 1593. With the indentures of the fine between the two parties on the same matter.

Signature of W. Batche and fragment of seal.

137.—Sale by Richard Broughton of the Inner Temple, London, Esq., to Rowland Watson of Lincoln's Inn, London, Esq., of the churches of Pattingham and Patshull and of the tithes of Rudge (Co. Salop). May 28th, 1594.

Signature of R. Watson. Seal missing.

138.—Settlement made by Francis Thomas, of Hoxton in the parish of Claverley in the county of Salop, and William Brooke of Lulley in the parish of Enville in the county of Stafford for the marriage of William Thomas and Elizabeth Brooke. June 20th, 1594.

Signature of F. and W. Thomas and remains of two seals.

139.—Exemplification of the enrolment of the recovery of lands in Wolverhampton by William Baylie, gent. Nov. 29th, 1596.

Part of the great seal.

140.—Lease by Sir Walter Harcourt, knt., of Stanton Harcourt in the County of Oxford, to Walter Brooke of Lapley, of some land in Shareshill. March 31st, 1604.

Seal missing.

141.—Power of attorney given by Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley of Dudley Castle to take possession of Sedgley Park. March 25th, 1598. Signature and seal of Lord Dudley.

142.—Lease by the same to his brother John Sutton of the same place. March 25th, 1598.

Signature of Lord Dudley. Seal missing.

143.—Appointment of William Birche of Hatherton in the custody of Francis Burne, His Majesty's ward, heir to the late Margaret Cricheley, by the Court of Wards and Liveries. With an extent of the ward's property. April 16th, 1606.

Signed: *Salisbury*. Seal missing.

144.—Appointment of Walter Clemante of All Hallows the Great in the county of the city of London, in the custody of William Vickin, His Majesty's ward, heir to the late Hugh Vikin, yeoman, by the Court of Wards and Liveries. With an extent of the ward's property in Hilderstone. Oct. 23rd, 1605.

Signed: *Salisbury*. Seal missing.

145.—Agreement between Edward James of Bromley and Dennis Bradley of Kingswinford, on some money matters. Jan. 18th, 1616.

Signed: *Edward James*. Seal missing.

FLANDERS (County).

[R. 26221] 146 (9967).—Contemporary transcript of the acceptance by Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, of the truce of Vive-Saint-Baron between Philippe IV, King of France, and Edward I, King of England (1297). [French MS. 106.]

A tous cheaus qui ches lettres verront, Guys, quens de Flandre et marchis de Namur, salus. Vous faisons savoir que comme souffrance soit prise en certaine fourme jusques a certain temps entre tres haus princes Le Roy de France et le Roy d'Engleterre pour eaus et pour lor alliés sour toutes le guerres qu'il ont ensamble, nous a le dite souffranche en le maniere que elle est faite et acordee e seelee dou, seal du (add.) dit Roy d'Engleterre, nous assentoms et prometoms en bonie foy et avoms jurei sour les sains evangiles pour nous et pour nos enfans que nous le dite souffrance garderoms et garder feroms loiaument et enterement par maniere que toutes nos gens de Flandre et de tout nostre pooir soient en le dite souffrance ainsi avant comme

nous et puissent aler et venir [vendre] marchander et besoingner par toute le terre dou roiaume de France et par toutes terres des alliés le Roy de France sauvement et paisivlement tant et si longement comme li termes de la desusdite souffrance durra. En tesmoing de la quel chose nous avoms fait ches presentes lettres saieler de nostre saieler qui faites et donnees furent l'an de grace mil deus cens quatre vins et dis et sept.

- [R. 45950] 147-166.—A set of ten documents relating to places in Aquitaine which formed Lot 614 at the Phillipps's sale on June 26th, 1919.

BORDEAUX (Gironde).

HOSPITAL OF SAINT JACQUES.

147.—Approval by the Prior and Brethren of a sale of land in Prat. Badon which is subject to a rent paid to the hospital. Aug. 31st, 1341.

Manual signet of Elias de Ceivra, notary.

ARCHBISHOPRIC.

148.—Lease of a house in the street "*deu gran Cauffernau*" in the parish of "*Senta Eulodia*" at a rent of 5d. April 9th, 1354.

Manual signet of Johan de la Crota, notary.

149.—Lease of a house in the parish of St. Simeon "*au cayrefort davant l'arrua de sarporas*" at a rent of 2d. April 22^d, 1354.

Same manual signet.

HOSPITAL OF SAINT JACQUES.

150.—Confirmation of the feoffment of some lands in Lopiack made in January 1332, to Ramon Bruet and reverted to his son and heir. April 5th, 1359.

Manual signet of Ramon de Sent Pau.

ABBAY OF LA SAUVE MAJEURE. O.S.B.

151.—Feoffment of a house and a piece of land in the parish of La Goyran at a rent of 4s. 6d. to be paid to the Almonery. June 12th, 1364.

Manual signet of Guassen Sant de Sent Johan, notary.

LA REOLE (Gironde).

152.—Acknowledgment by Arnaut Guast of the parish of Borderes of a piece of land in the said parish, which Bernard Juzin, burgher of St. Macaire, bought from Tibbaud Cavoy, Lord of Budos, and left to his daughter Johane, the wife of Pey Ros, burgher of St. Macaire. May 22^d, 1393.

Manual signet of Bernard Delegi, notary.

BORDEAUX (Gironde).

153.—Acknowledgment by Ramon de Vals, of the parish of St. Elodie, of a piece of land "*en las gravas de Bordeu*," from Guilhem Guiraudon of the same parish, at a rent of the fourth part of the wine. April 25th, 1391.

Manual signet of Johan Arros, notary.

LA REOLE (Gironde).

154.—Lease by Pey Ros, burgher of St. Macaire, to Pey Sados of a piece of land in La Reole, at a rent of 2 "double sous". May 22^d, 1393.

Same manual signet as No 152.

CASTELNAU-DE-MEDOC (Gironde, Arr^t. Bordeaux).

155.—A contemporary transcript of the feoffment by the Lady Blanche de Foix, captal of Buch, to Raimon de Tausiet, of Castelnau, of the moiety of her houses in Castelnau at a rent of 5s. Nov. 17th, 1353.

Transcript made from the books of Ayquart de Lagunagian, notary.

BORDEAUX (Gironde).

CATHEDRAL AND CHURCH OF SAINT ANDRÉ.

156.—Feoffment by the Dean of St. André to Alays Audebrand, the wife of Arnaud Deubose, jun., of the parish of Sent Miqueu, of a vineyard "*en las gravas de Bordeu*" at a rent of 5s. Oct. 23^d, 1404.

Manual signet of Bernard de Feriaud, notary.

[R. 45951] 157-166.—Another set of 10 documents relating to Aquitaine. Formed lot 614 at the Phillipps sale on June 26th, 1919.

SEPTFONDS (Tarn-et-Garonne, Arr^t. Montauban, C^{ne} Realville).

ABBEY OF SAINT MARCEL. Ord. Cist.

157.—Confirmation by the Abbot of the sale by Bru Grifolet of La Befière to Johan Clemens of Bioule, of a piece of land in Realville, subject to a rent in kind to be paid annually to the monastery. Feb. 5th, 1327.

Manual signet of Jean Grimelia, notary.

BORDEAUX (Gironde).

ABBEY OF LA SAUVE MAJEURE. O.S.B.

158.—Confirmation by Pey de Sent Chesteye (monk of La Sauve, acting for the Abbot Guy) of the sale by Guilhelm Castanich to Johan de Poyons of some land in Capian (Arr^t. Bordeaux, C^{ne}

Cadillac) on which the priory of Sainte Anne d'Artolée has some rights. Feb. 8th, 1345.

Manual signet of Huc Morand, notary.

159.—Acknowledgement by Arnaud d'Arrebeyra of a piece of land in Saleyras at a rent of 2s. 6d. and 2s. Feb. 6th, 1368.

Same manual signet as N^o. 158.

FRÈRES PRÉCHEURS.

160. Friar Pey de Cassilhs, prior, quits of the rights of "lods" and approves the sale by Pey de Maderan to Itey Seguin of a house in the parish of St. Pierre at a rent of 60s. Aug. 30th, 1371.

Manual signet of Pey de Lemoges, notary.

ABBAY OF SAINTE CROIX. O.S.B.

161.—Feoffment by the Abbot Ramon d'Arroqueys, to Maria de Bernatanda, widow of Bernard Franssès, of a piece of land in the island of Magnan at a rent of the fifth part of the harvest. Feb. 21st, 1375.

Manual signet of Guilhem de la Bau, notary.

ABBAY OF SAINT SEURIN. O.S.A.

162.—Grant by the Dean to Ramon de Pont, of the parish of Notre Dame, of two pieces of land, one in "*las gravas de Bordeu*," the other in Pissaloup, at a rent of the third and the fourth of the wine. March 16th, 1376.

Manual signet of Arnaud Marcey, notary.

SAINT MICHEL (Church).

163.—Acknowledgement by the vicar, Guilhem de Laissan, from the Chaplains, of a house in the parish at a rent of 13s. 4d. Sept 6th, 1387.

Manual signet of Bertram Fonvo, notary.

HOSPITAL OF SAINT JACQUES.

164.—Feoffment by the syndic to Guilhem de Gironda, of the parish of Loupiac, of two pieces of land in Loupiac at a rent of the fourth part of the harvest. Dec. 31st, 1389.

Manual signet of Vital de Villeneuve, imperial notary.

ESTARGNAN (Gironde).

165.—Feoffment by Archambault de Grailly, captal of Buch, and Gailhard de Durafor, Lord of Duras and Blanquefort, to Pierre and Guilhem Austen of an estate in Estargnan. May 5th, 1393.

Manual signet of Pierre de Costeran, imperial notary.

BORDEAUX (Gironde).

ABBEY OF LA SAUVE MAJEURE. O.S.B.

166.—Transcript of an acknowledgement by Amaniu de Fossa of a piece of vineyard, a dependance of the priory of St. Pierre de Castets, at a rent of 3d. and the fourth part of the grapes. Jan. 23rd, 1393.

Transcript made from the books of Johan Dabes, notary, by Guirand Ascors, notary, whose manual signet is drawn.

[R. 45952] 167-174.—Another set of 8 documents relating to Aquitaine. Formed lot n^o. 615 at the Phillipps sale on June 26, 1919.

LIGNAN (Gironde, Arr^t. Bordeaux).

167.—Sale by Ramon de Lopa to Ramon de Benanges of a piece of land for a sum of £4 and a rent of 3s. May 3rd, 1311.

Manual signet of W. Faur of Sadirac.

SEPTFONDS (Tarn-et-Garonne, Arr^t Montauban, C^{ne} Réalville).

ABBEY OF SAINT MARCEL. Ord. Cist.

168.—Grant by P. Borgy, Abbot, to Johan Cartals, of some land in Réalville for the sum of £2 (cahorsin money) and a rent in kind. March 2nd, 1321.

Manual signet of Pierre Benoit, royal notary.

LIGNAN (Gironde Arr^t Bordeaux).

169.—Acknowledgment by Pey de Pugarem to Johan Seneppa of the parish of St. Pierre in Bordeaux, of a piece of land at a rent of a bushel of corn. Nov. 13th, 1367.

Manual signet of Guillaume Ayqueline, notary.

BORDEAUX (Gironde).

ABBEY OF LA SAUVE MAJEURE. O.S.B.

170.—Acknowledgment by Bartholomiu Arcambaut to the Priory of St. Pierre de Castet, of a vineyard in St. Pierre de Castet at a rent of 12d. May 13th, 1368.

Manual signet of Guassia Santi de St. Johan, notary.

171.—Acknowledgment by Ramon d'Armaynhac to the same, of some lands and houses at a rent of 11s. 4½d. and some work and goods. May 6th, 1368.

Same manual signet.

HOSPITAL OF SAINT JACQUES.

172.—Acknowledgment by Jean Feradie, of the Parish of St. Pierre de Bordeaux, to the hospital, of lands near the latter, at a rent of 17d. March 23rd, 1387.

Manual signet of Vidau de Villanova, notary.

ABBEY OF LA SAUVE MAJEURE. O.S.B.

173.—Acknowledgment by Jordan Helyas, to the Priory of Ste. Anne d'Artholée, of a piece of land in the parish of St. Hilaire, at a rent of 6s. Jan. 14th, 1392.

Manual signet of Guirand Castor, notary.

ABBEY OF SAINT SEURIN. O.S.A.

174.—Acknowledgment by Bernard de Lalau, of Le Tourne Entre-deux-mers, to the Dean and Chapter, of a piece of land in Le Tourne, at a rent of 8d. Feb. 24th, 1399.

Manual signet of Pey Arnaud, notary.

[R. 46072] 175-205 (32282).—A collection of documents relating to lands and persons in Tournai (with the exception of *one* document relating to Verdun).

TOURNAI (Belgium).

175.—The report of Thibaut Bel Amin, appointed by the Council of the Thirteen of the town of Tournai to investigate the case between the Abbot of St. Clement and the "avoués" of the monastery in Pommereux in the matter of some death duties. The report concludes for the Abbot. Aug. 31st, 1324.

176.—Lease by Damoiselle Katherine Menton, the widow of Jean Vilain, her sons-in-law and her three young children to Jehan Campion, of a house in the '*rue de Babilone*' near the gate of La Vigie at a rent of £4 6s. 7d. October 11th, 13 .

A chirograph.

177.—Lease by Katherine, the widow of Jakemon of Epelchin, to Colart d'Outriesson of Créplaine, of some lands in Epelchin (near Tournai) at a rent in kind. Sept. 21st, 1321.

A chirograph.

178.—Lease by Gulle de Preudon, to Jehan Le Tailleur and Hellin de la Masure, of lands in Templeuve (near Tournai) at a rent in kind. Oct. 21st, 1331.

A chirograph.

179.—Lease by the Guardians of the poor of Tournai to Colars Plouviers, of some lands in Espieres (near Tournai) belonging to the poor, at a rent of £40 10d. Dec. 29th, 1337.

A chirograph.

180.—The will of Juliasne, the widow of Alart le Banceteur. Feb. 8th, 1341.

A chirograph.

181.—The will of Jaquemes Olivier. June 23rd, 1347.

A chirograph.

182.—A private agreement between Etienne de Baelly and Damoiselle Katherine de Baelly to accept the verdict of umpires in a law-suit. The umpires agreed upon are: Jehan de Maresquel, mayor of the "eswardeurs" of Tournai, Ernoul le Muisit, Jaquemon dou Croquet and Jehan Poullain, "eswardeurs" of Tournai. Dec. 11th, 1349.

A chirograph.

183.—Lease by Gilles Mousket to Jean de Lannays, of the moiety of a manor in Epelchin (near Tournai) at a rent in kind. Sept. 1st., 1352.

A chirograph.

184.—Lease by Gilles de La Caune, smith, to Jakemon Candillon, a coat-maker, of a house in the "*rue Picket*" at a rent of 99s. May, 1368.

A chirograph.

185.—Seisine by Jakemes, monk of Saint Martin de Tournai, attorney of the Abbot and convent, of a mill, the property of Jakemes Dauclare and Henry Catine, as a mortgage for unpaid rents. Feb. 9th, 1359.

A chirograph.

186.—Lease by Guillaume de Buri, monk of Saint Martin de Tournai, attorney of the abbot and convent, to Philippe Wiars, of a house in Tournai, and of the lands belonging to the monastery alongside the road from Fromont to Tournai. at a rent in money and kind. May 5th, 1360.

A chirograph.

187.—Quitclaim by Thomas Borel, King's sarjeant in the Baillage of Tournaisis, to Jean du Castel, of a house in the "*rue Kaledane*," in Tournai, for the sum of 18 florins which the said Thomas Borel borrowed from the said Jean du Castel and was unable to repay. Feb 28th, 1374.

A chirograph.

188.—Acknowledgment by the Guardians of the poor of Tournai, to Jaquemon Dorque and his brother, of a sum of 100 florins of gold bequeathed by the late Colars Martin, father of the latters, to the poor of Tournai on condition that an *obit* should be celebrated annually in the church of St. Jaquemes. May 21st, 1376.

A chirograph.

189.—The will of Jehanne Mallette. July 9th, 1377.

A chirograph.

190.—Sale by Jaquelin de Peronne, attorney of the Franciscan Friars in Tournay, to Damoiselle Katherine Willeurée, the widow of Jakeme Demaude, of a house in Tournai, in front of the Austin Convent. March 3rd, 1380.

A chirograph.

191.—Lease by Jehan de Bauwegines and Laurench le Flameng, receivers of the town of Tournai, acting for the corporation, to Piat de Leuse, of a piece of land near the little gate "*des norriers*," at a rent of 15s. June 22nd, 1384.

A chirograph.

192.—Contemporary transcript of a settlement relating to the repayment of a debt of £4000 by Anel, daughter of the late Thiebal Herbel, "*eschevin*," to Haury Bouchon. Oct. 31st, 1390.

193.—Lease by Jehan de Helleremes, provost of Tournai, and other representatives of the corporation, to Colard de Roques, of a piece of land near the walls of "*Porte Fierain*," at a rent of 60s. May 19th, 1392.

A chirograph.

VERDUN (Meuse).

194.—Sale by Nicole François, "*aman*" and "*echevin*" of Metz, and some other citizens of Metz, to Gilles Paixel, knt., "*echevin du palais*" of Verdun, and Jehan Piedeschal, sen., citizen of Metz, of some rights they hold for and from the Abbey of Saint Vincent (of Metz) in the town and county of Verdun and specially in Dugny. Jan. 24th, 1396.

Manual signet of Jean Maignet, apostolic notary.

TOURNAI (Belgium).

195.—Sale by the heirs and executors of Jacques Laurens to Philippe de Croy, Count of Solre, a knight of the golden Fleece, of a piece of land near the walls of Tournai. Jan. 12th, 1601.

A chirograph.

196.—Lease by the "*Echevins*" of Tournai to Gilles du Tilleul and François Caron, canons of the Cathedral, of the tenth part of the little "*marnis*" in the parish of Saint Jehan d'Escauffours, at a rent of £28. July 26th, 1630.

Seal missing.

197.—A decree of the Council of Flanders relating to the *seisine* of

the money deposited by Marianne du Pret, widow of Antoine de Gru, in the hands of the "Echevins". April 19th, 1652.

Signed: *Par le Roy. A la relation du Conseil. Joh. de Ruyschen.*

198.—Six fragments concerning pleas held in Tournai (XIVth cent.), viz.:

(a) *C'est li briés des debatans dou plet l'an MCCC et XX le lundi devant le jour de May.*

(b) *Ce sont li debatant dou plait de le St. Luch l'an XXII.*

(c) *Ce sont les jornees et les quinsainnes dou plet le jor St Vincent l'an MCCC et XVIII.*

(d) *Ce sont les jornees et les quinsaines d . . . dou plet l'an MCCC et XIX, le lundi devant le de ducasse Nostre Dame. Se fu maires des Eskevins Watiers Gargatte.*

(e) . . . plet l'an MCCC et XXI.

(f) A fragment imperfect both at the beginning and at the end, but of a similar character.

199.—Six fragments concerning debts and debtors in Tournay, viz.:

(a) *C'est çon que Colars de St Brisse devoit au jour dou trespas se femme. Ends vº: Ciste perçons fu faite le jour St Lehire MCCC et XXVII.*

(b) *Ce sont les dettes que Colars li Cousturiers devoit.*

(c) *Che sont les dettes que on devoit a Pieron dit Sovis au jour et a l'eure ke sa femme daerainne trespasa au plus justement que il le puet savoir et que il l'a raporté en sa parçon contre ses fillastres. (Imperfect at the end.)*

(d) *Che sont les debtes que Jehan de Rayme doit sour lesquelles il entent a aler a sierement sour l'autel Nostre Dame a le contre de ses parçonniers. Ends: Chi seremens fu fais sour l'autel del eglise Nostre Dame de Tournay le XVII^e jour dou mois de Juillé l'an de grace Mil trois cens et trente et wit.*

(e) *Ce sont les dettes ke Jehan li plas doit.*

(f) Accounts of the debts of a certain Willaume of which the first part is missing, and which ends as follows: *A cest sairement faire furent les Eskevins de Tournay dont li nom sont tel: Jakemes de Wasnes, Rogiers de Clermes, Jakemes .C. Mars, Henris Provis, Jehans de Roubaix, Gossuins Li Louchiers, li peres, et Pieres Li Muisis, li fils. Che fu fait le XVI^e jour dou mois de Novembre l'an de grace Mil CCC et LIX.*

200. Accounts of trustees (1337) imperfect at the end.

Chest li comptes que Colars de Bailluel et Colars de Castillon, gouvreneur des biens les enfans le petit mestre, ont fait des dis biens as Eskevins de Tournay depuis le Mardy devant la Sainte Katherine l'an XXXV jusques au Ve jour de Juing l'an XXXVII ; li quel gouvreneur sont demorés par l'acord des Eskevins.

201.—Account of succession (1346) imperfect at the end.

Chest li vendue des biens que li Eskievins de Tournay ont fait del accort et assens de tous les consaus de le chité de Tournay a le requeste des testamenteurs jadis Marisen le Machonne, lesquels li dit Eskievins trouverent en l coffre de merseriet et en l'ostel de la ditte jadis Maignam appartenans au testament de le dicte Marisen, li quele vendue fu faite a l'instanse et requeste des executeurs le dicte Marisen l'an de grace. Mil. CCC et XLVI.

202.—Account of succession (XIVth cent.) imperfect at the end.

Chi sont les comptes que Pierart de Billi, executeur, et Mahieu de le Planeque et Joffroy de Billi, executeurs subroghiés du testament codicelle et ordonnances de darraïne volenté de feu Collart Platone, font et rendent par devant honnerables et sages Messeigneurs les Eschins de la ville et cité de Tournay des mises et distribuçons que eulx ont faictes paiées et distribuees pour cause du testament et execution dudit feu et autrement. Et dont pour ce faire paier et acomplir Jehan Fournet marit de la fille du dit feu Collart a baillié et delivré aux dis executeurs la some de IIII^{xx} XIII lb. t. et s'est obligiés par devant les dis Eschins que, se plus montoit l'acomplissement d'icelli testament, de ycelli surplus baillier et delivrer aux dis executeurs. Desquels mises et distribuçons faites par les dis executeurs sera chi après plus ad plain faite mention.

203.—Accounts of succession (1430) imperfect at the end.

Che sont les comptes que font et rendent par devant honnourables et saiges Messeigneurs les Eschevins de la ville et cité de Tournay qui desoubz sont nomez en le fin de ces presens comptes Jehan de la Batoire et Jehan Le Bruet dit Noiset, tant pour eux comme pour Diernict de le mote, on nom et come executeurs des testament, codicille et ordonnances de darraïne volenté de deffuncte demiselle Jehenne de le Pree, de toutes les receptes que les dis executeurs ont faictes, levés et recues des biens meubles demourés de la dicte deffuncte ; et aussi des frais, mises et despens sur ce fais, paiés et soustenus tant pour cause du service, funeraille et obsequie d'icelle deffuncte, de la probaçon et emprende de son dit testament et codicille, de l'inventore, prisié et vendue faicte a cause de ses dis biens et des dons, lais et ordonnances par elle fais, donnés et laissiés par ses dis

testament et codicille, come de la reddiçon et fathon de ces presens comptes et aultrement en plusieurs manieres cy après declarees ; depuis le XXI^e jour du mois de fevrier l'an Mil quatre cens et trente, que les dis executeurs empenirent les dis testament et codicille a faire et mettre a execuçon deue, jusques au jour et daite déclaré et contenu en le fin de ces presens comptes.

203^{bis}.—8 fragments of accounts imperfect both at the beginning and at the end, concerning the repayment of debts, being very likely part of some accounts of succession. (XIVth cent.)

204.—3 fragments of accounts (XIVth cent.) being long lists of names arranged according to parishes, a circumstance which points to these fragments being part of some municipal accounts or perhaps rolls of taxes.

205.—10 fragments of accounts rendered by executors or trustees to the Corporation of Tournai, imperfect at the beginning and at the end in such a way that it is not possible to find the names of the testators.